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ON
THE ABBEY
OF
S. EDMUND AT BURY

I. THE LIBRARY.

II. THE CHURCH.

BY

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, LITT.D.

WILLOW AND DEAN OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
DIRECTOR OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.



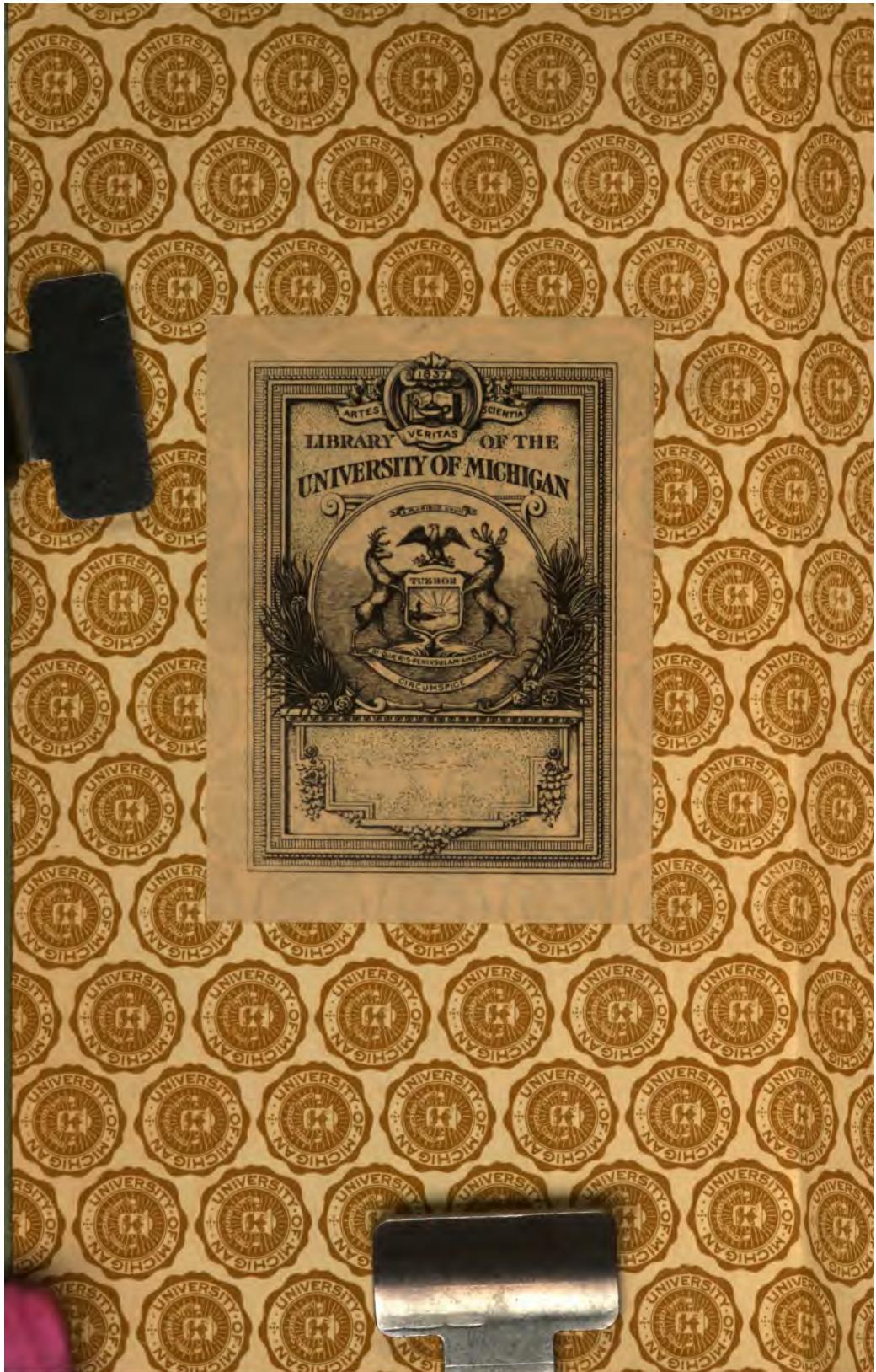
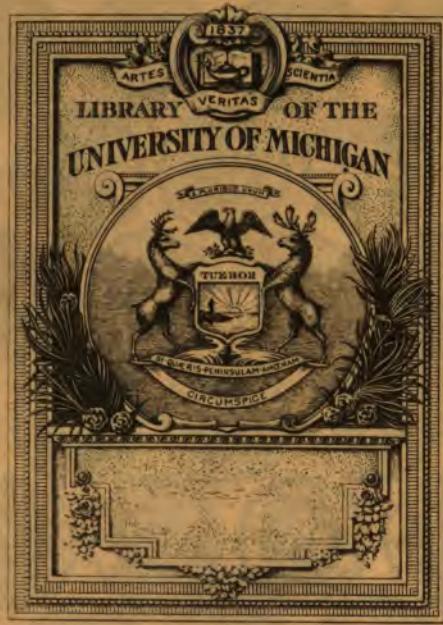
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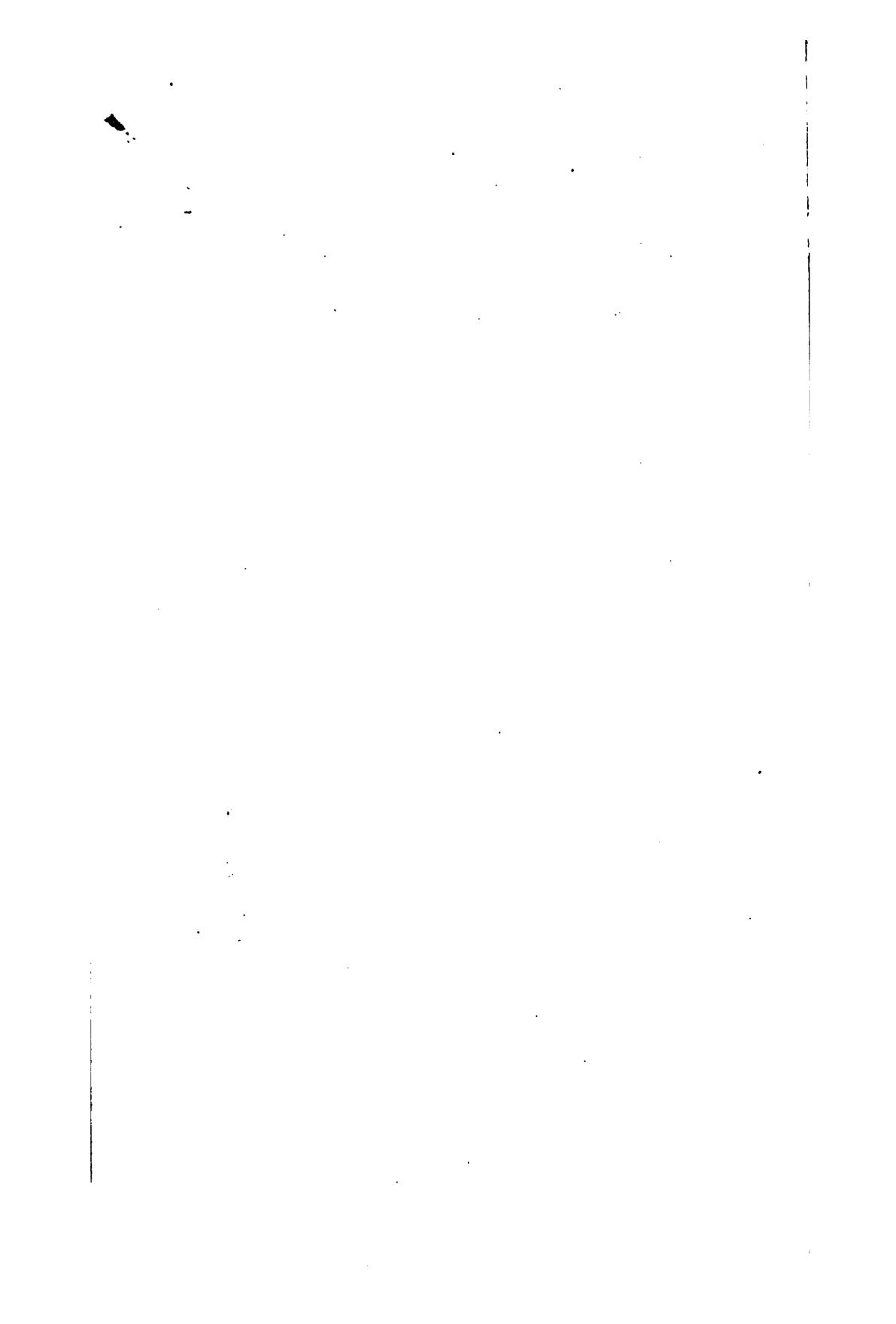
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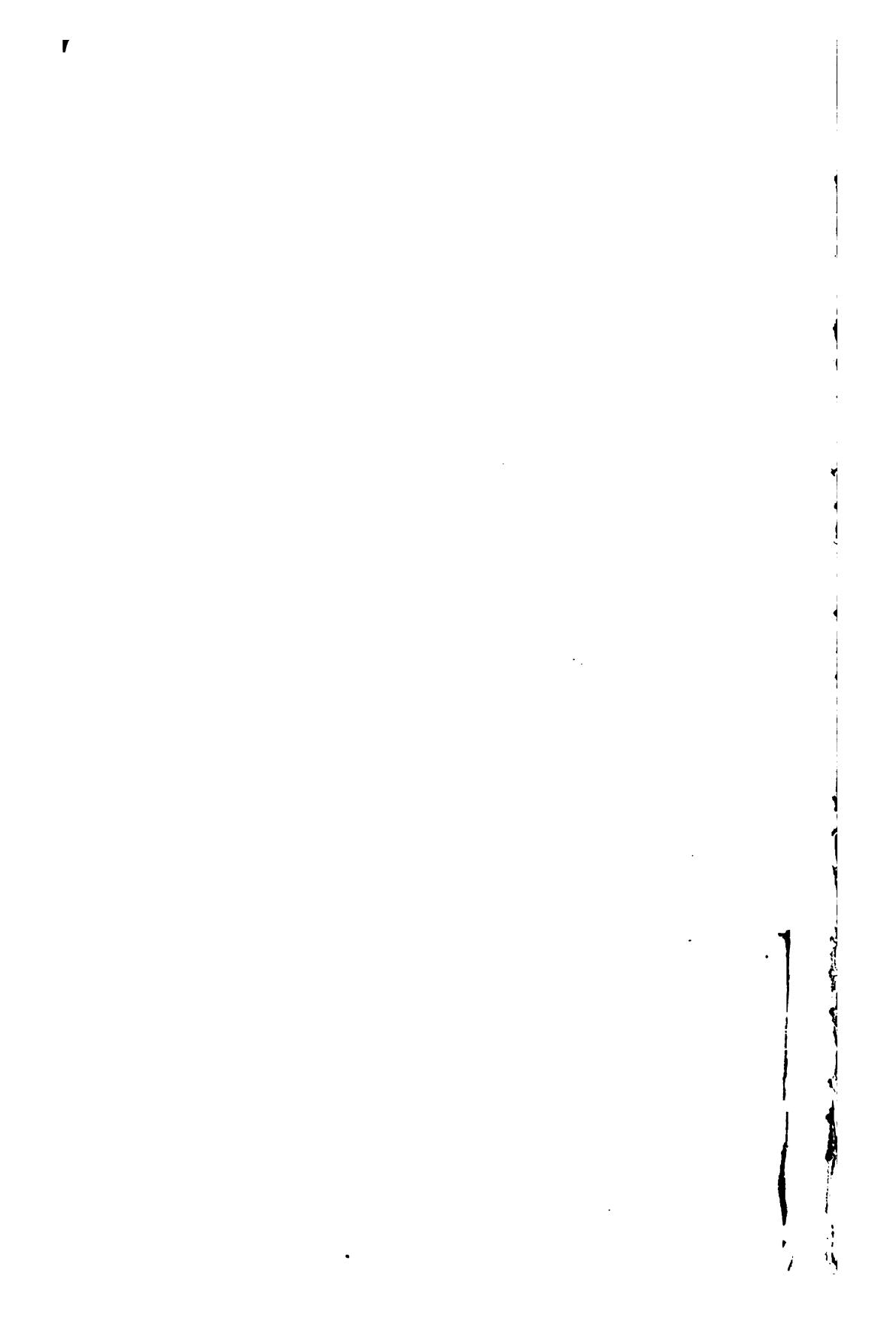




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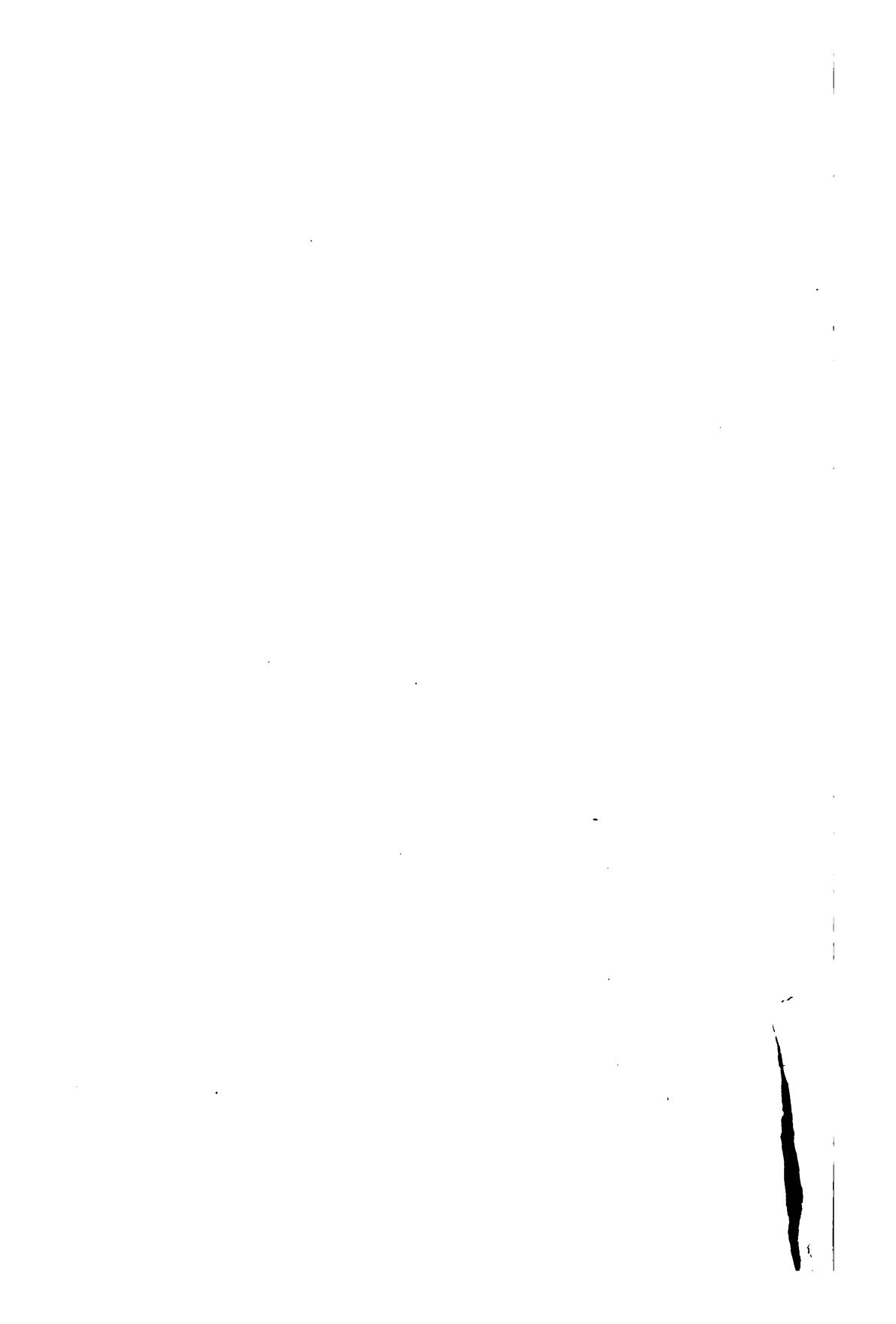
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ET

IOHANNIS BATTELY

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PREFACE.

THE two Essays contained in this volume have both of them grown out of papers read by me before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. The circumstances which led me to write them are sufficiently set forth, I think, in the opening paragraphs of each: but I should like to take the present opportunity of explaining to my readers the reasons for the form in which the second of the two Essays appears here, and of anticipating certain criticisms which might reasonably be passed on it.

It should by rights have been furnished with copious references to the Appendix which follows (and overshadows) it. But the truth is that this Appendix is in its present form an afterthought. I had originally intended to print only the new materials which I had discovered in the Register at Douai and in the manuscript at the College of Arms: but it became evident that extracts from the *gesta Sacristarum* would have to be added; and then that quotations from Jocelin de Brækelond were indispensable: and, not to make a long story of it, I ultimately decided to present my readers with the whole of the materials that lay before myself, and so to enable them to check the conclusions I had arrived at, by their own independent study of the documents I had used.

Again, the issuing of the second Essay together with the first, as an "octavo publication," instead of allowing it to appear as an ordinary Communication, was another afterthought. It was not discussed until part of the text had been printed off. To me it seems a very happy idea, and I am very grateful to those who suggested and carried out the change. This fact will explain satisfactorily, I hope, the occurrence of some repetitions in the second Essay of facts alluded to in the first.

Under these circumstances I would ask my readers to look upon this second Essay as a "*Mémoire pour servir*" rather than as a finished whole. It is, or might be, the groundwork for a complete history of the Church of St Edmund: but in itself it is, I am afraid, rather a *rudis indigestaque moles*: yet from it, and from the results of that fresh investigation of the site which I earnestly hope may be undertaken, it is possible that an adequate and satisfactory book might be extracted.

My sincere thanks are due to the Council of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for accepting the responsibility of publishing these Essays in a separate form: and very especially are they due to Mr J. W. Clark, who, as Editor of the Society's publications, has spent an amount of time and trouble over the production of this book which I shrink from realising to myself. He has made the index and minutely revised the proofs. I am not sure, in spite of all his help, that this book is a readable one; but without that help it must have been far less readable than it is.

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 2, note 1, for the additional note—Essay read p. 41.

p. 9, l. 8, Ganedeys read Cranewys (?)

- ibid. no. 171 „ no. 188
- l. 8, no. 186 „ no. 205.
- l. 15, no. 243 „ no. 270.
- l. 16, no. 244 „ no. 271.
- l. 19, no. 245 „ no. 273.

Add after l. 19, Abbot W. Curteys gave, Y. 28 (no. 229).

p. 13, l. 12, (187) read 220.

p. 14, l. 10, (162) „ 188.

- 1. 26, (193) „ 226.
- l. 34, (79) „ 88.
- l. 40, (81) „ 90.

p. 16, l. 15, (78) „ 87.

p. 18, l. 11, (107) „ 124.

p. 19, l. 16, (98) „ 115.

p. 27, l. 31, no. 229 „ 269.

BIBLIOTHECA BURIENSIS.

i. *Prefatory.*

THE following attempt at a collection of the surviving remains of the Library of Bury S. Edmunds Abbey is the result of a desultory search extending over about two years. The reasons for which it was undertaken are of several kinds. First, I have lived almost all my life in the immediate neighbourhood of Bury, and that fact made the Abbey and its history attractive to me: again, it came to my knowledge that the largest single collection of MSS. from Bury was in Cambridge: further, I happened to discover very soon both an early Catalogue and also the meaning of the press-marks which distinguish Bury books: but, more than all, the instinct of the chase of my favourite game, namely, manuscripts, is soon excited by such a search as this. So that even though the search might have been utterly unproductive and useless, it is probable that it would have been prosecuted.

Useless, however, I cannot think it, unless the gauging of the intellectual resources or the mental equipment of the men of old time be useless. In a modern biography it is often a chief point of interest to know what books the subject of the biography liked best—to what authors he owed most. And in a case like the present we are but extending the field a little, and ascertaining what authors were studied by a whole body of men who in their time were a mighty power in Eastern England, nay, at the ruling centre of England itself. I am not a historian, but I feel certain that it is worth while to know something about the literary and religious influences under which the members of so great a society as was the Abbey of Bury were educated. But I must approach the subject.

Of the building which contained the books we have at present no details: it may be that future volumes of the *Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey* now being edited for the Rolls Series by Mr Thomas Arnold will enlighten us¹. But Mr J. W. Clark, who was so kind as to look at some of the Bury books in Pembroke College Library, has told me that the chain-marks² point to an arrangement of the books on sloping desks, on which they lay on their sides. It is most likely, then, that the main Library was a long room with desks projecting at right angles from the walls.

None of the documents connected with the Abbey of which I have any knowledge give a hint as to the position of the Library: but Mr Gordon Hills in an excellent article on the Abbey buildings (*Journ. Archaeol. Assoc.* 1865, p. 129) speaks of it as having been over the Chapter House (east of the great Cloister): however, he does not quote his authority, and, in the same sentence, he mistranslates *bibliotheca* as *Library* where it really means *Bible*. Of the disposition of the books as distinct from the structural arrangements of the building in which they were kept we do know something. All the unmutilated volumes which belonged to the Library proper—which were not Registers or Church-books—have a press-mark. This press-mark consists of two parts, one a letter of the alphabet (the letters run from A to Y), the other an Arabic numeral. The letter of the alphabet indicates in nearly every single case either the name of the author of the main contents of the volume, or the main subject of the volume. Thus A will be the press-mark of works by Augustine, Ambrose, or Anselm; B stands for Bede, Biblia, Bonaventura; C for Clement or Chronica; M for Medicina; O for Omeliae (Homilies). The Arabic number naturally shows the order of acquisition or of the natural sequence of the volume in its own class. The oldest books in every class are usually marked with early

¹ The Library was most likely in or over the Cloister: see the additional note on this at the end of the Essay.

² I have taken care to note the position of these chain-marks in all the instances in which I detected them.

numbers: on the other hand, if we have two contemporary volumes of Glosses, on Genesis and on Isaiah, the Gloss on Genesis precedes the Gloss on Isaiah in the numbering. As to externals: where the original binding has been preserved—as in many cases at Pembroke College—the commonest form consists of white skin over wooden boards: the boards and backs usually quite flat: the chain-mark almost always on the front cover at top or bottom: the commonest form of fastening is a strap with metal loop, which fits on to a pin fixed in the middle of the last cover.

The two scribes' inscriptions *assit principio sancta Maria meo* and *sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia* are very common in Bury books, but are by no means exclusively characteristic of them. In several cases there is a title in Lombardic capitals down the back of the book.

It would seem that an energetic and rather learned man had charge of the Library at a late period of its existence: at some time in the xvth century, he renewed the press-marks and noted defects and also in one or two cases added notes of a literary and bibliographical sort touching the contents of a volume. I believe I can tell who he was, but I must reserve my theory for the present.

Many interesting points come to the surface at once in the course of such a search as this. I will instance one fact in this place. We have proof of the existence of Hebrew MSS. at Bury: part of one is used as a fly leaf in B. 61, and there is a Hebrew Psalter in the Bodleian which belonged to the Abbey (no. 228). Then, again, from R. 14, we learn that there was at Bury in the latter part of the xvth century some knowledge of the contents of other monastic Libraries. Other similar matters will be noted as occasion offers.

The bulk of the Library must have been great: the highest numbers in each class added together give a total of over 2000 volumes: and it seems clear that each class was numbered from 1 upwards. There is a possibility that gaps were left in the numbering to admit of future acquisitions: but I cannot prove this.

I shall now try to specify my sources of information, and then say something of the history of the surviving remains of the Library: after which will be given a Catalogue, with brief descriptions of the various volumes, arranged according to their place in the Library of the Abbey.

My first specimen of a Bury book was the volume of miscellaneous contents which will be found briefly described under B. 357 and M. 27. This is preserved in the Guildhall at Bury S. Edmunds along with the rest of the Parish Library of S. James's, of which it forms part. For a long loan of it I am indebted to the kindness of the Rector of S. James's—the Rev. G. Hodges—and the Churchwardens.

At an early date in my investigations it became obvious that the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, had preserved more Bury MSS. than any other single institution, in consequence of Alderman Smart's¹ bequest in 1599, of which more hereafter: and I naturally made as thorough an examination of all the MSS. in that Library as I possibly could. I have been through the whole collection twice, if not three times: and my work has been throughout made easy and pleasant by the kindness both of Mr Neil the Librarian and Mr Stoakley the clerk of the Library. Next to Pembroke College, I must place the Bodleian: the Rev. W. D. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian* contains among its other excellent features lists of the MSS. which can be identified as having belonged to various monastic Libraries. The Bury list is complete: neither Mr Macray himself nor Mr Falconer Madan can add any volumes to it. Both of these gentlemen have been good enough to communicate with me on the subject.

The British Museum is so vast a storehouse that I could hardly hope to make a complete list of the Bury MSS. therein contained. Yet I believe that after all my list will not be

¹ William Smart, or Smarte, was "portman" or alderman of Ipswich: his will, by which he bequeathed his printed books and about eight MSS. to the parish of S. Mary Tower (they went in fact to the Corporation, which still preserves them), is dated 8 Nov. 1598, and was proved at Doctors' Commons on 2 Nov. 1599.

found very imperfect. Casley in his *Catalogue of the Royal MSS.* gives all the 'provenances' which came under his notice: and the Royal Library is perhaps richer in English monastic books than any other of the Museum collections. But neither Casley nor any printed Catalogue covers the whole ground: and I should have fared but ill in this part of my search, but for the very great kindness of Mr G. F. Warner, of the Department of Manuscripts, who has sent me supplementary lists and particulars of all the Bury MSS. known to him in the British Museum.

For the Libraries of Oxford Colleges I have had to rely on Coxe's noble Catalogue: I hope I have missed nothing in my perusal of the two volumes. It is not *a priori* very likely that many Bury MSS. should have found their way to the smaller Oxford collections. There are many more of them in the College Libraries at Cambridge. The Rev. J. R. Harmer, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Mr J. Bass Mullinger, Librarian of S. John's, the Rev. E. S. Roberts and Mr Lendrum of Gonville and Caius College, the Rev. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Mr Gray of Jesus College, and not least the University Librarian, have been most kind in making easy my access to the MSS. under their charge.

ii. *History of the Library.*

Let us now turn to the history of the books belonging to the monastery before the Dissolution.

The earliest thing that can in any sense be called a Catalogue is a list of service-books which were in possession of the monastery or of different members of it at the time of Leofstan's accession to the abbacy: he was second abbot, and presided from 1044 to 1065. The list occurs in a MS. of the Rule of St Benedict in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, belonging to Corpus Christi College, Oxford (cxcvii; see under R. 70 in the present Catalogue): I examined it, in company with the Rev. C. Plummer, the Librarian of the College, who was good enough to explain a good many points to me. On fol. 105 sqq. are

notes on the history of the abbey, followed by inventories, from which last I extract the following (f. 107):

Leofstan found "x boc" in the church, viz. III. cristes boc & i maesse boc. & i pistel boc. & i salter. & i godspell boc & i capitularia & sc̄ eadmundes uita. In madinhus .xiij maesse hacelan (mass-vestments) etc. Also III scrinan. xiiii rodan. Blakere haefð i pinter raeding boc (winter service-book) Brihtric haefð i maesse reef calix & disc & i maesse boc. & pinter raeding boc. & sumer boc. Smerdus haefð an maesse reef (=chalice), & an maesse boc. & leofstan an handboc (=manuale). Aeþeric an maesse-boc & capitularia. Durstan an psalter. Oskytel haefð an maessereaf & an maesseboc & an Ad te leuaui.

At a manor of the abbey (it is not clear which)

Her syndon .xxx. boca ealre on leofistanes abbodes hafona. butan mynsterboc (=exclusive of church-books).

The books enumerated as existing in Leofstan's time can none of them be identified with volumes which we possess, though it is likely enough that some of the thirty volumes at his country-house "exclusive of church-books" may be still extant. The Life of S. Edmund is almost the only volume in the list which is likely to have found its way into the Library.

I believe that the next earliest reference to the Library is to be found in the works of William of Malmesbury in the xiith century. This writer seems to have taken great pains to enlarge and improve the Library of his own monastery of Malmesbury, and also to have paid visits to at least two other houses, Canterbury and S. Edmunds, on literary errands. In his tract *De antiquitatibus Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* § 2 (ed. Gale, *Scriptores xv.* Oxford, 1691, i. p. 293¹) he says that "we know the apostolic foundation of Glastonbury"

ex scriptis seniorum, quorum unus Britonum historiographus, prout apud S. Edmundum itemque apud S. Augustinum Anglorum apostolum uidimus, ita exorsus est: *In confinio occidentalis Britanniae*, etc.

Again, on p. 294:

sunt et illae non exiguae fidei litterae apud S. Edmundum repertae, quod hanc sanctissimam ecclesiam Glastoniae non fecerunt aliorum hominum manus sed ipsi discipuli, etc.

¹ Sir Thomas Hardy in his preface to the *Gesta Regum* gives a wrong reference in his footnote, to "Gale iii 298, 376," which caused me great trouble.

The two passages refer to one and the same document, whatever that was.

It is interesting to note in connexion with William, that he seems to have presented an autograph copy of his *Gesta Pontificum* to Bury Abbey; the book still exists and is entered in the present Catalogue under C. 4.

The rest of the mediaeval history of books at Bury is derived from Bury documents only, and consists almost entirely of the names of donors. The *Gesta Sacristarum* (*Memorials*, ii. 290) in enumerating the works of Herveus the sacrist under abbot Anselm (1121—1148) says:

Iste Herveus frater Taleboti prioris, omnes expensas inuenit fratri suo priori in scribenda magna bibliotheca, et manu magistri Hugonis incomparabiliter fecit depingi. Qui cum non inueniret in partibus nostris pelles uitulinas sibi accommodas, in Scotiae partibus parchamena comparauit.

In other words, Prior Talbot was enabled by his brother Hervey the sacrist to present this abbey with a large Bible decorated by the hand of Master Hugo, the greatest of Bury artists, who, as we learn from other passages, executed the great brazen doors at the west of the Church, and carved a wonderfully fine crucifix in the choir, and also made a great bell. The Bible was written on the finest procurable Irish (or Scotch) vellum. It may be identical with no. ii in the ancient catalogue of the Library which appears later on in this essay.

I next insert a few scraps of information as to books left to the Abbey, which I take from a list of benefactors to the society contained in a Register in the Public Library of Douai (see below no. 261).

Hugo (de Northwold, Abbot 1213—1254) dedit conuentui primam partem biblie preciosissimam.

Johannes II. (Brynkley, Abbot 1361—1379) reliquit conuentui in libris per eum emptis ad ualorem 150 librarum ad minus.

Willelmus Abbas (Cratfield, 1390—1414) reliquit conuentui in libris per eum emptis ad ualorem 100 marcarum ad minus.

Willelmus de Rokelond Prior reliquit Decretales cum apparatu optimo: summam Innocencii: corpus Iuris in quinque uoluminibus: Summam Azonis: Sermones in duobus pulcris uoluminibus.

Magister Johannes de Batesford doctor in utroque iure et monachus... dedit Corpus Iuris: Summam Azonis: Suffragium monachorum: Decreta optima cum apparatu: Rosarium in pulcherrimo uolumini: Summam Hostiensis et Speculum Iudiciale in pulcherrimis uoluminibus: Decretales cum apparatu: Summam Innocencii cum aliis libris ad ualorem 100 marcarum.

Reginaldus de Denham Prior (135.) dedit Decretales pulcherrimos cum apparatu precii 6 marcarum et multos alios libros (see no. 230).

Petrus de Clopton, Prior (in 1327), gave many books on both Civil Law and Canon Law.

Stephanus medicus et monachus dedit tres libros magnos et pulcherrimos de medicina.

Also Edmund of Brundish, Prior (13...), gave £8 for an Antiphoner.

It is curious that all the books of which the titles are given should be books on Canon or Civil Law.

Next will follow a few donors' names, taken from the Old Catalogue.

i* is a Bible given by Azo.

cxxi, a Bible called "Anselmi abbatis."

140 Psalterium Mag. Fulgentii.

159 Apocalipsis Mag. Fulgentii.

230 Psalterium glosatum Anselmi.

231 Psalt. Mag. Petri. (These four are very possibly authors' names.)

254 Consuetudinarium quod Azo dedit.

Lastly it will be well to collect the names of donors which appear in the MSS. themselves.

Abbot John (?de Brinkley)	gives A. 92, M. 12, T. 47
Prior John Gosford	A. 143
Mag. John de Wlpit (Woolpit), Rector of "ffortune"	B. 57
Mag. Stephanus	B. 70
John de Geysle (Gazeley)	B. 93
Robert de Wesingham	B. 555
Will. Henry, D.D.	O. 6
Fr. Henr. de Kirkestede	G. 15, H. 56, P. 163, S. 184. See also a note from Liber Albus (p. 61)
Will. Barwe (sacrist 1414)	G. 129
Guido Praeceptor	J. 40, O. 2
Abb. Joh. Tymworth	O. 28 (M. 11 and no. 202)

Fr.	Will. de Dice (sacrist 12...)	P. 25, V. 3
Prior	Rob. Ikelyngham	P. 185
Fr.	Joh. Ganedeys (sacrist ??)	R... (no. 171)
Fr.	Rob. Ypswych	S. 26
	Edm. de Wirlingworthe	S. 38
?	Will. Heyhorn	S. 153
	Rob. de Rokeswel	S... (at Durham)
Fr.	Will. Frekham	S... (no. 186)
	Petrus de Aylesham	T. 1, T. 3
	W. de Lacford	T. 12
	Steph. de Haslingfeld	T. 16
	Galfr. de Hemlingtone (Prior ?)	T. 26
	Will. Bury	V. 1
Prior	Baldwin (xiith cent.)	Y. 27
	Reginald de Denham (sacrist 1340)	no. 243
Fr.	Joh. Fenyngham	no. 244
	Thomas Vicar of Gorleston gave to Abbot John Brinkley the Psalter now at Douai	no. 245

Then, in the fifteenth century, we have Boston of Bury's Catalogue, of which more hereafter: and at the period of the Dissolution we get a glimpse of the last days of the Library in a letter written on behalf of John Leland, the King's antiquary, probably by Thomas Cromwell himself, or by one of the Commissioners for the suppression of the monasteries. It is a well-known document, but it must once more be quoted in this place. It will be found in the *Itinerary*, in vol. iv. of the edition of 1744, p. 153, and in vol. iv. 164 of the edition of 1769.

In right hearty manner I commend me on to yow. And where as Master Leylande at this praesent tyme cummith to *Byri* to see what Bookes be lefte yn the Library there or translatid thens ynto any other Corner of the late Monastery, I shaul desier yow upon just Consideration right redily to forder his Cause, and to permitte hym to have the use of such as may forder hym yn setting forth such Matiers as he writith for the King's Majeste. In so doyng ye shaul bynde me to show on to yow at al tymes like Gratitude: for if I were present at this tyme with yow I wold gladly my selfe fulfil his honeste Requeste. Thus fare ye wel this ix. of *Novembre* at *Barnwelle*.

The way in which the books are spoken of seems to indicate that a clearance of the Library had already taken place.

It is apparent that the books were very much scattered: we know that this was the case in most places. I am inclined to believe that they were bought wholesale by residents in the immediate neighbourhood, and that large numbers of them lingered in and near Bury and were picked up by scholars as much as a century afterwards. My reasons for this belief will appear later.

As a result, I suppose, of the above-quoted letter, Leland was enabled to make an examination of the Bury Library, or the remains of it. In his *Collectanea*, ed. 1770, he notes the following books as being found there¹:

1. Abbo Floriacensis de vita S. Edmundi martyris, ad Dunstanum Archiep. Cantuar.
2. Simplicius super Praedicamenta.
3. Passio Demetrii martyris ad Carolum Magnum autore Anastasio.
4. Meditationes Alexandri Necham de mirabili conversione Magdalenea.
5. Epistolae Flacci Albini siue Alcuini.
6. Monegaldus super Epistolas Pauli.
7. Athelardi Bathoniensis liber de Naturis Rerum instar dialogi. Vixit tempore Henrici (primi).
8. Robertus Melundinensis episcopus Herfordensis super sententias, siue de Sacramentis Veteris Testamenti. Scripsit duo pulcherrima iuxta ac doctissima volumina. *Nonnullorum scribendi consuetudo*. See R. 40.
9. Trivet super libros Boetii de consolatione philosophiae.
10. Waleys super Psalterium.
11. Ryngsted super Prouerbia Salomonis.
12. Kilwardby super Ezechielem.
13. Necham super Cantica: see James 152.
14. Utredus monachus Dunelmensis de esu et abstinentia carnium².
15. Idem de Variatione professionis Monachorum et aliorum.
16. *Ex vetustiss. codice Sallustii* (probably = S. 1).
Qui vultis vitae finem modo nosse Jugurthae.
Tarpeiae rupis pulsus ad ima ruit.
17. Aldelmus de Virginitate, carmine.
18. Aldelmi Aenigmata = A. 119.

¹ I append the press-marks of such of the extant volumes as appear to be identical with books in Leland's list.

² At Pembroke College is a Durham MS. (Isidori Etymologiae etc. xiv) presented to Durham by Utredus, a monk there. He was Prior of Finchale in 1375: a MS. at Jesus College contains two tracts by him.

19. *Leges Longobardorum* = L. 393.
20. *Vitruuius de Architectura*. See *Cat. Vet.* 157.
21. *Freculphi historia ab urbe condito ad Christum. Est et conventui in bibliotheca monachorum Historia recentiorum temporum autore Freculpho.* See F. ...
22. *Hovedeni Historia incipiens a Beda.*

Leland, in accordance with his custom, has here noticed the works by classical authors or English writers which he found in the abbey. Even in this respect his list is not complete: but it was not meant to be so.

It is probable that the Royal Library absorbed the Bury MSS. which it contains soon after Leland's visit. Archbishop Parker and Sir Robert Cotton must have followed next. Neither of them procured many books from Bury. Bodley got more; Laud only a few. But before the year 1599 something like a hundred volumes came into the hands of William Smart, a 'Portman' of Ipswich. In the year named he was induced by Mr Richard Buckenham, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, to give them to that Society, which possesses them still. Into the contents of this legacy we must examine. The first Catalogue of it which exists is in the *Ecloga Cantabrigiensis* of Thomas James, Bodley's Librarian, published in 1600. He enumerates 191 items: but his list, as we shall see, is very misleading. It is reprinted word for word in the *Catal. MSS. Angl. et Hib.* of 1697. Dissatisfied with this document, I turned to a far better authority. Matthew Wren, afterwards Bishop of Ely (†1667), compiled a Register of Benefactors to the College Library, in which Smart's donation naturally occupies a prominent place. On f. 23 b of this Register (a handsome MS. with the coats of the benefactors elaborately blazoned) we read:

47 *Willielmus Smart dedit...*

Then follows a list of eighty items. Then this note:

Hi omnes e Monasterio S. Eadmundi Suffolc. exiere, datique nobis A° 1599 ex procuratione M^r Richardi Buckenham Socii, qui si catalogum datorum nobis reliquisset egregiam fidem praestitisset. Dedit enim praeter hos proculdubio non paucos qui nunc (proh dolor) absunt.

Jamesium Oxoniensem adii in Catalogo. Vix annus a donatione elapsus erat cum ille hos recensuit numeratque 191 volumina. Sed nulla fide. Aliorum enim donaria saepe admisicuit. Certe tamen ex iis quos recenset 30 fere desiderantur.

"All these came from the Monastery of S. Edmund in Suffolk, and were given to us in the year 1599 by the means of Mr Richard Buckenham, Fellow. Had he left us a Catalogue of his gift, he would have rendered us a great service: for besides the books here named, he (Smart) gave no doubt a considerable number which are now, alas! wanting.

I have consulted the Catalogue by James of Oxford. Hardly a year had elapsed since the gift was made when he catalogued the books; and he reckons 191 volumes. No confidence, however, can be placed in him; for he has frequently included the gifts of others. Yet it is certain that of those in his list about thirty are missing."

We have then, as materials for the knowledge of Smart's gifts: (1) James's Catalogue, which exaggerates the numbers and inserts many volumes not given by Smart. (2) Wren's Catalogue, which only includes volumes in which the name of Bury or of Smart plainly occurs. I append both lists, and attach the Bury press-marks where they exist; in James's list I have added some short notes descriptive of the MSS., now at Pembroke College, to which I suppose him to be referring.

James's list in his *Ecloga Cantabrigiensis* has first to be considered. It is found on p. 129. After enumerating 72 volumes at Pembroke, he continues:

Gulielmus Smart Aldermannus Gypouicensis, vir piissimae memoriae, qui placide in domino obdormiuit an. superiori 1599. dedit aulae Penbrochianae hos omnes libros qui sequuntur, ex procuratione Magistri Buckenhamij huius Col. socij.

[No. 73 is omitted.]

- 74. = H. 19.
- 75. = P. 35.
- 76. = P. 25.
- 77. Homiliae sanctorum Patrum = O. 52?
- 78. = M. 93.
- 79. = A. 121.
- 80. Mariale = M...
- 81. = O. 55.
- 82. = A. 124.
- 83. = R. 14.
- 84. = S. 38.

85. Cassianus de institutis et regulis coenobiorum.
 Libri eiusdem de origine et remedijis septem principalium vitiorum.
 Collationes 24 Patrum de Aegypto. Not now at Pembroke.

Wren 19.

86. =G. 129.
 87. Sermones sanctorum patrum in Euang.=O. 52?
 88. =B. 276.
 89. =P. 185.
 90. =P. 64.
 91. =R. 54.
 92. =C. 16.
 93. Prima pars summae Tho. de Aquino. T. ... (187.)
 94. Quaestiones disputatae.
 95. Secunda pars summae.
 96. Prima pars summae.
 97. Nic. de Aquae villa Sermones super Euangelia. [xv. with Quodlibeta Thomae. No Bury mark: a modern(?) mark T. 97.]
 98. Ultima pars Thomae.
 99. =B. 385.
 100. Fr. de Mayro super 2. 3. 4. sententiarum.
 Idem de dominio.
 Plato de Timaeo.
 [xv. cent. original binding: two clasps: an ugly book.]
 101. Aegidius in 1. sent. [xv.]
 102. Distinctiones Boraston. [xv. English writing.]
 103. Scotus in 2. sentent.
 Mayro de ente.
 Aegidius de peccato originali.
 Mayro de indulgentiis. [xv. (1460). Given by Gerard Skipwith of Pembroke in 1459 (4 July) and written by him.]
 104. Thomae Quaest. 1. [xv. Liber aule Valenciae.]
 105. Hugo de arra animae.
 Bonaventura de x praceptoris.
 Sermones.
 Distinct. Nic. Byardi.
 Seneca de rv virtutibus. [xv. two columns. Given by Walter de Stratton.]
 106. Distinct. Januensis.
 Quaest. Notyngham.
 Lincolnensis de Veneno. [xv. olim Doctoris Gawyn.]
 107. Cowton (Coulson) super rv sentent. [xv.]
 108. Quodlibeta Rob. Holcot. [xv. Old binding: two clasps: two columns: no mark. Liber aule Pembroch.]

109. Greg. de Arimino super 2. sentent. [xv. Old binding: no chain-mark. A good border at the beginning, with birds: initial cut out.]

110. Quodlibeta Gaufridi de Fontibus. [xiv. Liber aul. Valencie contulit Mag. Joh. tymenue quondam custos.]

111. Ric. de Media Villa super sentent. = L. 16.

112. Quodlibeta Henr. de Gandavo. [xiv, xv. two columns: old binding: unlike Bury.]

113. Quaest. Ric. de Media Villa super sentent. [xv. two cols. Liber Aul. Val. ex dono M. Joh. Sudbury.]

114. = R. ... (162).

115. Legenda Sanctorum. [xiii. Belonged to Church of Blofield (in Norfolk): rebound.]

116. Lincolnensis de lingua.
Quaedam notabilia de praedestinatione etc., cum expositione orationis Dominicæ. [xv. two columns. English(?).]

117. Rogeri compendium morale.
Tract. de cantu Philomenæ (a rhyming Latin poem).
Expos. orationis Dominicæ.
Symbolum sec. Augustinum. [xv. foreign: an ugly book.]

118. Stimulus conscientiae.
Pastorale Gregorii. [xv.]

119. Liber Boetii de disciplina scholarium cum expositione de Whetelay.
Expositio in lib. de consol. philosophiae. [xv. "Constat Thome Westhagh pro xlijs iiijd."]

120. = V. ... (193).

121. Aphrica Fr. Petrarchæ.
Inuentiones Salustii in Tullium et e conuerso.
Oratio pro M. Coelio.
 pro M. Marcello.
 pro Rege Deiotaro.
 de Senectute.
[xv. paper, vellum wrapper, Italian writing.]

122. = B. ... (79).

123. Summa collectionum Io. Galliensis.
Tract. de oculo Morali.
Testamenta xii Patriarcharum.
[xiv. two clasps: two columns. Liber aul. Val. Not Smart's, but possibly from Bury.]

124. = B. 28 ... (81).

125. Liber Morborum...qui Compendium primæ medicinae intitulatur Lib. 7.

126. Liber 1. Canonum auctore Principe Abohaly.

127. Comment. super Tegni secundum galenum. [xv. Olim Tho. Westhauh: music upon the fly-leaves.]

128. Raymundi summa de casibus. [xiii. good initials. "Contulit Mag. Joh. tinemue quondam custos coll. Valencie."]

129. Roffredus Beneventanus de ordine iudiciorum. [xiv. chain-mark: Italian hand: good initial of a teacher and pupils. "Iste liber constat Ricardo Caunton, precium ix(?)s iiijd."]

130. Justinianus de Nouo Codice. [xiv. Italian hand: this and several other of the legal MSS. are marked on the last leaf with a hole jagged at the top.]

131. Summa super titulis Decretalium compilata a Mag. Guilielmo Decano domini Pare. [xiii. marked as last: Italian hand: old binding. Lib. coll. Pemb. (xv).]

132. Summa summarum. [xiv. two cols. provenance erased.]

133. Rosarium Iuris (Archidiaconi Guidonis). [xiv, xv.]

134. Liber Iuris Canonici Innocentii 4. [xiv. marked as 130. Appears to be a Bury book: the hole in the last leaf has three points at top and Innocensius written over it.]

135. Summa super Tit. Decretalium. ?

136. Institutiones cum authenticis. [xiii, xiv. Liber Aul. Val. Italian hand: English ornament, very good: initials cut out: a hole of six points in the last leaf.]

137. Decreta. [xiii, xiv. Italian: large folio: initials gone: one figure of an Apostle left in the corner: English ornament: a very large book, mutilated at the end.]

138. Summa Augustini de Ancona de Ecclesiastica potestate. [Liber principio mutilus. xiv, xv.]

139. Liber vi Decretalium cum apparatu Io. Andreeae. [xiv. English hand: marked as 130: hole of four points marked liber sextus.]

140. Digesta. [xiv. last leaves gone.]

141. Anon. de Iure Canonico.

142. Alius Anon. de Iure Canonico.

143. Liber Decretorum. [xii. two columns. Belonged to Mag. Galfridus de lawad, presbiter ecclesie S. Magni London. A Catalogue of his Library is on the fly-leaf.]

144. Lincoln. de cessatione legalium.
Petri Alfonsi Dialogus contra Judaeos.

Aegidius de pluralitate personarum. [xiv. two clasps. Liber Aule Valencie.]

145. Constitutiones Ottoboni cum expos. Peccham.

146. =T. 16.

147. Anon. in Euangelia. Inc. omnia poma noua.

148. =B. 231.

149. Postillae seu Collecta super Psalterium in scholis M. Gul. de

Montibus Collecta Samuelis Presbyteri in scholis praedictis versu, cum glossa, ad memoriam quorundam utilium in S.S. Inc. Prior nulli. [Cf. B. 233 in the Bodleian.]

150. *Expositio Psalterii.* Inc. *Psalterium* vocatur liber hymnorum. [Cf. B. 232 (Bodl.).]

151. *Secunda pars Postillatoris super 4. Euangelistas.*

super Epp. Pauli.

super Act. Apost.

super Canon. Epp.

Postilla domini Parisiensis, siue Hugonis de Vienna super Apocalypsim. [?xiv. two cols. Labelled outside 'liber mag. hugonis damlet.' Bust of Paul in initial: an ugly book.]

152. *Alex. Necham super Cantica.*

153. *Postillae in Matth. et Marc.* *Fecit Deus duo luminaria.*

154. =B. ... (78).

155. *Postilla super Matth.* *Dominus ac redemptor noster.*

156. *Postilla super Lucam.* *Habentes pontificem.*

157. *Aliud exemplar eiusdem.* *Postillae bonae super Lucam.*

158. *Glossa ordinaria et interlinearis in Ioannem.* B. 109(?).

159. =P. 81 or P. 92.

160. =P. 81 or 92.

161. *Expos. super Ruth et Deut.* *Benedictus Dominus.* Cf. B. 220 (Bodl.).

162. *Post. super Epp. Pauli.* *Vas electionis.*

163. *Prima pars secundae partis de summa Thomae.*

164. *Primum scriptum et 2^{dm} sentent.* *Ego sapientia.*

165. *Thomas contra Gentiles.*

166. =A. 111.

167. =B. 328.

168. =A. 110?

169. =T. 65.

170. *Expos. super Cant.* *Liber mutulus in principio.*

Speculum poenitentiae a M. Gul. de Monte.

171. =A. 114.

173. *Gemma animae.*

174. =B. 385.

175. 1. *collat. Io. de Peccham de omnibus Dominicis.*

Parisiensis cur deus homo.

Lincoln. de 10. Praeceptis.

H. Costeseye super Apocal.

176. =H. 32.

177. =P. 11.

178. =H. 31.

179. *Glossae super N. T. sec. Mag. Petr. Paris.*

Ambrosius de consecr. Ecclesiarum.
 Apologeticus in regem Dauid.
 Not now at Pembroke.

202. =Cat. Vet. 216? Epithalamium Orig. super Cantica.
 Rabanus de instit. Clericorum.
 Hieron. super Marcum.

203. =A. 92.

204. =G. 129.

205. =G. 18.

206. =G. 8.

207. =G. ... (107).

208. =J. 57.

209. =S. 2.

210. =J. 20.

211. Tullius de officiis.
 Boetius de consol. Philos.
 Tract. de Numeris.
 Boetius de Trinitate.
 Locutiones Aug. de v libris Moysei, Jesu Nave, Judicum.
 Timaeus Platonis.

212. Ep. Pauli ad Colossenses. Probatissimum exemplar.
 Definitio Eccl. dogmatum.
 Exp. fidei breuis & utilis.
 Exp. Symboli Apostolici.
 Fides 318 Patrum.
 Fides 150 Patrum (C. Pol.).
 Exp. super Symb. Athanasii.
 Exp. fidei S. Ambrosii.
 Exp. fidei S. Pelagii P.
 Exp. fidei S. Hieronymi.
 Exp. fidei S. Aug.
 De duabus naturis in Christo et unitate personae.
 Exp. Orat. Dominicæ.
 Opusculum de actione Missarum, collect. ex verbis Doctorum.

Not at Pembroke.

213. =B. 287.

214. =V. 1.

215. =B. 319.

216. Amalarius; cf. no. 79, probably a repetition.

217. Exp. de Canone Missæ.
 De quibus inquisitio facienda est in Confessione.
 Quae sunt ab agente in extremis dicenda.
 Notabilia pro Sermonibus.
 Stat. et Const. Greg. X. apud Lyons.

Const. Archiep. apud Lambeth.
 Modus abbreviandi et ordinandi inuentarium.
 Tract. de articulis fidei.
 de virtutibus.
 de x praceptis.
 de 7 pecc. mortal.
 de 7 Sacramentis.
 Distinct. et notulae pro Sermonibus.
 de Sacramento Confessionis.
 Prouerbia Gallice et Latine.
 Infantia Salvatoris.
 218. = Y. 12.
 219. = B. 282.
 220. = C. 11.
 221. = F. 12.
 222. = F. ... (98) and S. 68.
 223. = S. 65.
 224. = A. 143.
 225. = T. 26.
 226. = T. 47.
 227. = T. 25.
 228. Distinct. quaedam de Vet. Test. et Nouo cum sermonibus. =
 S. 57.
 229. Liber scriptus gallice versu, de omnibus ordinibus. Inc. Du
 siecle puant et orrible.
 Exhortationes M. Gu. Kauell ad fratres Templi de excellentia
 vitae militaris.
 Not now at Pembroke.
 230. = A. 222.
 231. Glossa vulgata et interlinearis bis vel ter, comprehensa volumi-
 nibus 35.

The number of volumes of glosses from Bury is now about 28.

Of these books in James's list the following are demon-
 strably not part of Smart's legacy:

103	110	123	144
105	118	128	151
106	115	136	183, 4
108			

or fourteen volumes; in most cases these books belonged to the
 College before Smart's time. A good many others in the list
 are too meagrely described by James to admit of identification.
 This applies particularly to volumes of Sermons and Canon

Law and to works of S. Thomas Aquinas : there may also be some little repetition, but this can only apply to a few volumes. A small number of books enumerated by James are not now extant in the Library of the College. These are nos. 85, 125 ?, 126 ?, 135 ?, 141 ?, 142 ?, 145 ?, 149, 150, 152, 170, 175, 190, 198 ?, 201, 202, 211, 212, 217 ?, 229¹: in Wren's time 'about 30' of James's list were wanting.

Next follows Wren's list of Smart's bequest, extracted from the Library Register of Pembroke College. Wren did not however include all the books which contain Bury press-marks: his list consequently understates Smart's bequest.

f. 23 b. 47. *Willielmus Smart dedit.*

1. Kirchladensem in Ezechilem. R. 54.
2. Claudium Presb. in Matthaeum. C. 16.
3. Rotomagensis propositiones. P. 185.
4. Homilias aliquas Hieron., Aug., Chrys., de tempore. O. 52.
5. P. Lugdunensis serm. dominic. in Epistolas. S. 71.
6. P. Pictauensem super tabulas Mosis. P. 35.
7. Homilias diuersorum de Sanctis. O. 54(?)
8. Fratrem quendam praedicatorum super Mariale. Mark gone : see M. ...
9. Lombardum. P. 64.
10. Pet. Comest. serm. et allegor. cum Radulpho Nigro de re militari et 3plici uia peregrini Jerusalem. P. 25.
11. Concordant. Bibliorum. B. 276.
12. Jo. de Rupe de Malo. M. 93.
13. Homilias 95 ab Aduentu ad Andream cum al. mult. et Rabano de Missae officio. O. 55.
14. Greg. in Ezech. G. 129.
15. Amalarium de Off. Eccl. cum al. de Missa. A. 121.
16. Nic. de Gorrham Distinct. et Sermones abbreviatus. S. 38.
17. Rad. Flauiac. super Parab. Salom. R. 14.
18. Postillas Andreae Canon. S. Victoris super Prophetas. A. 127.
19. Cassianum. I cannot find this MS. James 85.
20. Hugonem de S. Victore super Ecclesiastem. H. 19.
21. Aquin. in 4th Sentent. cum parte Augustini. T. 2(?)
22. Chrysost. opus imperf. et 35 homilias in Hebr. J. 28.
23. Tabulam in Thomam 3 et 4 Sentent. cum aliis. Super Apoc. secundum Berengaudium (*sic*). Postill. super Jo. Sermones antiquos Joannis de Alba Villa. T. 65, B. 340, P. 92.

¹ In my enumeration of missing books I have omitted Postillae and Sermones and works of S. Thomas.

24. Tabulam cum Concord. in Aug. et alios. T. 26.
 25. Altisiodorensem in 1 and 2 Sentent. A. 109.
 26. Postill. super Valterium. Isa. Jer. Dan. 12 prophetas. Marc.
 B. 231.
 27. Aquin. contra Gentiles. T. 12.
 28. Aquin. primum scriptum et 2nd in Sentent. T. 1.
 29. Ambrosii partem. A. 61.
 30. Bedam in Lucam. B. 287.
 31. Origenis Homiliae aliquot. O. 4 (?)
 32. Aug. in Jo^m cum glossis. B. 109.
 33. Aquin. in Jo. et Marc. T. 16.
 34. Hom. Gregorii. G. 8.
 35. Threnos. Cant. cum breuiloquio Bonaventurae. B. 328.
 36. Bonavent. super 4 Sentent. B. 385.
 37. Margaritam Decreti. T. 47.
 38. Origenem super V. T. Innocentium de Missa cum Damasceno.
 O. 2.
 39. Altisiod. in 3 Sentent. A. 110.
 40. Collecta Samuelis Presb. e speculo Gregorii. S. 2.
 41. Aug. Enchiridion. A. 31.
 42. Isidorum contra Judaeos cum summa Rich. Lib. 4th Sentent.
 Narrationes bonas & notabiles cum particula Bernardi. Y. 12.
 43. Centilogium Ptolomei cum gloss. in Cant. et alii. A. 222.
 44. Valerium Maximum. V. 1.
 45. Hugon. de S. Victore uersificatum. H. 32.
 46. Breuiloquium Bonaventurae. B. 225.
 47. Armacani scriptum de quaestionibus Armenorum. A. 143.
 48. Bernard. super Cant. cum particula Hugonis. B. 305.
 49. Tabulam de Concord. Aug. et al. T. 25 (?)
 50. Quartum Sentent. et in Cant. P. 81.
 51. Gregorii Moralia. G. 18.
 52. Hieronymi Epist. et tractatus aliquot cum partic. Hugonis de
 S. Victore et Lapidario gallico. J. 20.
 53. Edictum Justiniani de fide, etc. F. 12.
 54. Bedam de Templo Salom. B. 282.
 55. Postill. Lyrae in Gen. ad Regum cum quaestionibus. Mark gone:
 see under B.
 56. Hieron. in Esaiam a libro 8^o ad fin. J. 6.
 57. Damasceni Sentent. recognitas per Grosseteste cum Aug. de mira-
 bilibus S. Scripturae, de Eccl. dogm., de arte fidei, Anselm. de similitudi-
 nibus et notulis de Moralibus Gregorii. J. 57.
 58. Glossam in Gen. et Cant. B. 40.
 59. " in Exod. cum moralizationibus quibusdam biblicis. B. ...
 60. " in Leuit. per diuersos. B. 48.

61. Glossam in Num. B. 50.
 62. " in Num. et Deut. B. 51.
 63. " in Deut. B. 52.
 64. " in Jos. et Jud. B. ...
 65. " in Ruth Hest. Jos. Jud. Job Judith, Esdr. Neh. 12 prophetas. B. 57.
 66. Glossam in libros Regum. B. 58.
 67. " in Parab. Esdr. Macc. B. 59.
 68. " in Esaiam. B. 60.
 69. " in Esaiam rursus. B. 61.
 70. " in Ezechielem. B. 66.
 71. " in Danielem. B. ...
 72. " in 12 prophetas et Dan. B. 70.
 73. " in Matth. B. 93.
 74. " in Matth. et partem Valterii. B. 95.
 75. " in Matth. et Marc. B. 97 (?)
 76. " in Marc. B. 101.
 77. " in Marc. cum parte Hugonis super Decreta et Brocardis. B. 99 and L. ...
 78, 79. Glossam in Luc. et Joh. *bis*. B. 105, B. 106 (?)
 80. Glossam in Epistolas Pauli. B. 205.

Then follows the note 'Hi omnes' etc. transcribed above (p. 11).

William Smart must have bought these books *en bloc*, it would seem, either at Bury or in its neighbourhood. The Richard Buckenham who persuaded him to give them to Pembroke College was in all likelihood a Suffolk man. The name (originally derived probably from Buckenham in Norfolk) is or was a great name in Norfolk and Suffolk. My own village, Livermere, was the property of Bokenhams during the xvth and xvith centuries. Thus much for the contingent of Bury MSS. from Pembroke College.

The Bury books at S. John's College all came from Jeremiah Holt, rector of Stonham Aspall, Suffolk, in 1634. The few in the Harleian collection may have been acquired casually. One of those in the Bodleian (A. 27) was purchased in 1881 of W. Butt, Esq., Axmouth: in 1893 one was bought by the British Museum (H. 1) which had formerly been in the possession of a Town Clerk at Lynn. The MSS. belonging to the Corporation of Wisbech were there in Pepys's time, and are mentioned in his Diary.

Two more documents have to be given before we turn to the Catalogue of the extant remains of the Library. The first is an ancient inedited Catalogue of the Library of late xiith or early xiiith century, which I was lucky enough to find on three leaves at the end of a Pembroke MS., the gloss on Genesis and Canticles (no. 58 in Wren's list), its Bury press-mark being B. 40. It is a fine folio volume of cent. xii., in the original binding. The Catalogue is not all of one date: I shall indicate the additions and corrections as well as I can, and append the press-marks of the volumes which I am able to identify as existing: I also continue the numbering of the items in Arabic figures when the numeration of the MS. (which is far from correct) ceases.

f. 1 (of the Catalogue) *recto*, col. a (f. 1 a a).

- i. Bibliotheca in uno volumine. Item bibliotheca Azonis.
- ii. Bibliotheca in .ii°. volumina lxxiiii (erased number).
- iii. Ieronimus super ysaisam (*sic*) lxxv. J. 6.
- iv. Ieronimus super psalterium lxxvi. J. 3.
- v. Ieronimus super ecclesiasten et
Ildefonsus de sancta maria. A. 88 (?)
- vi. Beda super uetus testamentum. B. 280.
- vii. Beda super parabolam salomonis.
- viii. Ysidorus ethimologiarum .ii. No. 201 (?)
- viii. Ysidorus super uetus testamentum.
- x. Iosephus in ii° volumina.
- xi. Egesippus.
- xii. Passionalez unum tria.
- xiii. Augustinus de concordia euangelistarum et
Wimundus de corpore et sanguine Dei. A. ... no. 23.
- xiv. Pascasus super lamentationes ieremie.
- xv. Iuuenalis glosatus. I. ... (?)
- xvi. Canones yuonis carnotensis episcopi.
- xvii. Epistole eiusdem.
- xviii. Libri anselmi archiepiscopi. A. 88 (?)
- xviii. Augustinus de uerbis domini.
- xx. Cassiodorus super beatus uir. ? Bodl. 2039.
- xxi. Epistole cypriani et
Bachiarius. ? Gonv. et Cai. 44.
- xxii. Augustinus de ordine creature et

de bono coniugio et
de uera religione et
contra quinque hereses.

xxiii. Orosius et
[f. 1 a b.] Iustinus. In uno uolumine.

xxviii. Ieronimus de hebraicis quaestionibus. margin, later : iii^o. oiu
Ieremias Isaias

xxv. Ambrosius super lucam. A. 67.

xxvi. 3 Augustinus super genesim ad litteram. A. ... no. 25 (?)

xxvii. Epistole senece et
Sidonius
Suetonius *erased*.

xxviii. Epistole anselmi archiepiscopi. A. 83.

xxviii. Augustinus de trinitate et ? King's Coll. Camb., MS. 2.
Boetius de trinitate et
Augustinus de origine anime et
de quantitate anime.

xxx. Cassiodorus super domine exaudi.

xxxi. Quadragesinta sermones Augustini et
Augustinus de adulterinis coniugiis et
Augustinus de mandatis et
Augustinus contra mendacium et
Augustinus de cura pro mortuis.

xxxii. Epistole Augustini.

xxxiii. Ambrosius de patriarchis et
Ambrosius de laude uirginum et
Ambrosius de laude uiduarum et
Origines de singularitate cleri.

xxxiv. Ieronimus super ieremiam et
Ieronimus super ezechielem.

xxxv. Breuiarium ad hospites.

xxxvi. Collectarium. duo

xxxvii. Augustinus contra faustum. A. 24.

xxxviii. Iohannes crisostomus super quedam capitula mathei (written twice).
[f. 1 b a.] Iohannes crisostomus super epistolam ad hebreos. J. 28.

xxxviii. Origenes super genesim et cf. O. 2.
Origenes super exodus et
Origenes super leuiticum.

xli. Beda super apocalipsim et B. 292.
Beda super canonicas epistolas.

xli. Beda super actus apostolorum et
Beda super esdram.

xlii. Augustinus contra iulianum hereticum et

contra aduersarios legis et prophetarum et
 contra manicheum et
 contra perfidiam arrianorum et
 contra pelagium et scelestinum et
 contra Felicianum hereticum.

xliii. *Augustinus de confessione et
 de simbolo et
 de cantico nouo et
 de elemosina et
 de quarta feria et
 de cataclismo et
 de tempore barbarico.*

xliiii. *Prisciani magni tres.*

xlv. *Paterius.*

xlvi. *Ambrosius de bono mortis et
 Epistole eiusdem et de nabuthe. A. 61.*

xlvii. *Glose psalterii.*

xlviii. *Speculum gregorii.
 Iohannes crisostomus super miserere mei deus. (Interlined)*

Require sub fine speculi gregorii.

Soliloquium ysidori.

xlviii. *Aethicus philosophus et
 [f. 1 b b.] Solinus.*

1. *Augustini soliloquium et
 Augustinus de immortalite anime et
 de presentia dei et
 de sermone domini in monte et
 de epistolis pauli et
 de xii abusius et*

*Questiones orosii ad beatum augustinum et
 Augustinus de gratia et libero arbitrio et
 Enucleationes augustini et
 Augustinus de uidendo deum et
 Sermones eusebii et
 Augustini et Origenis.* ? Bodl. 1893.

li. *Liber scintillarum.* ? in A. 52.

lii. *Gesta cesaris.*

liii. *Macrobius de saturnalibus ii^o.*

liii. *Tripertitum psalterium.*

lv. *Cassiodorus super quid gloriaris (i.e. Ps. li—c).*

lv. *Marcianus felix capella de nuptiis
 philologie et mercurii.*

lvii. *Augustinus super epistolam ad romanos et
 i^{am} epistolam ad corinthios. See no. 27.*

lviii. Augustinus super ii^{ma} epistolam ad corinthios et subsequentes epistolas.

lvi. Ambrosius de fide.

lx. Augustinus de nuptiis de concupiscentia. A. 27.

lxii. Romana historia et
historia longobardorum et
gesta alexandri. Cf. Corp. Chr. Oxf. MS. 82.

lxiii. Augustinus retractionum et

[f. 2 a a.] Cassiodorus de institutione diuinuarum litterarum et
Ysidorus de libris ueteris et noui testamenti et
de ortu et obitu sanctorum patrum et
Ieronimus de catholicis fructoribus et
Epistola gelasii pape de recipiendis et
Non recipiendis libris et
Gennasius (*sic*) de nominibus illustrium uirorum et
Ysidorus de illustris (*sic*) uiris. A. 31, cf. Bodl. 2222.

lxiii. Ierarchia dionisii.

lxviii. Beda de temporibus iii.

lxv. Aritmetica.
Et musica.

lxvi. Questiones augustini octoginta.

lxvii. Augustinus de baptismo et
de littera et spiritu.

lxviii. Rabbanus super matheum.

lxviii. Claudius super matheum. C. 16.

lxx. Albinus super iohannem.

lxxi. Rabbanus super .v. libros moysi.

lxxii. Expositio genesin (*sic*) in duo uolumina.

lxxiii. Frehulfus. F. ... cf. Leland no. 21.

lxxviii. Seruius super uirgilium.

(lxxv—lxxviii have been partly erased).

lxxv. Missale ad sanctum Martinum.

lxxvi. Missale ad crucem.

lxxvii. Missale ad martires.

lxxviii. Missale ad sanctum sabam.

lxxviii. Prudentius ynnorum et
Verecundus de diuersis canticis.

xxc. Rufinus super epistolam ad romanos.

xxci. Augustinus de predestinatione sanctorum.

In 1° de bono Perseuerantie.
uo de correctione et gratia.

[f. 2 a b.]
lu de perfectione hominum.
mi de beata uita.

ne *Augustinus de duabus animabus.*
 unde malum.

xxcii. *Iohannes episcopus constantinopolitanus.* in
 De reparacione lapsi. u
 De compunctione. no
 De nemo leditur nisi a se ipso uo
 De expulsione iohannis. lu
 De regressu asie. mi
 De proditione iude. ne
 De cruce et latrone.
 De ascensione. hec iohannes.

Once at Pembroke, bound with no. xxci.ii. See James's list, no. 201.
 It is not to be found now.

xxciii. *Fulbertus.*
 Miraculum in translatione sancti martini.
 De eo quod tria sunt necessaria ad perfectionem.

xxciiii. *Ambrosius de isaac et anima.*
 de fuga seculi.
 de iacob et uita beata.
 de paradiso.
 Apologeticus ambrosii in regem dauid.

xxcv. *Haimo super isaiam.* H. 1.

xxcv (sic). *Via ierusalem.* Cf. Wren 10.

(xxcvi—xxcviii *have been partly erased*).

xxcvi. *Breuiarium ad infirmos.*

xxcvii. *Gradale per musicam <et> troparium cantoribus.*

xxcviii. *Antiphonarium magnum per musicam.*

xxcviiii. *Quintilianus de causis.*

c (etc. sic). *Exodus glosatus.* B. ... (Wren 59).
 ci. *Liber sententiarum.*
 cii. *Liber euangeliorum* *partly erased.* ? Harl. 76, no. 229.
 ci. *Plantus (sic) et terentius.*
 ciiii. *Dioscorides.*

[f. 2 b a.]

cv. *Plinius in naturali historia erased.*

cvi. *Origenes super Iudicum* *over an erasure.* O. 4.

cvi. *Beda super cantica canticorum.*

cvi. *Cassiodorus super cantica canticorum.*
 Omelia super euuangelium,
 Missus est Gabriel.
 Athanasii de trinitate libri viii^o.
 eiusdem simbolum fidei.
 Eiusdem de spiritu sancto liber .i. eiusdem.
 De uera fide altercatio contra arrium.
 Et fotinum hereticos.

probo iudice.
 Sententia probi iudicis.
 Epistola pothamii ad athanasium.
 Epistola athanasii ad luciferum.
 Solutiones objectionum arrianorum. Cf. Bodl. 1918.

cvi. Ieronimus super epistolam pauli ad titium.
 Istos quere in uolumine augustini de mirabilibus diuine scripture.
 Ieronimus super epistolam ad philemonem.
 Isidorus ad florentinam sororem suam
 de diuinitate libri .ii.
 Augustinus de mirabilibus diuine
 scripture libri .iii.
 Prosper de contemplativa uita et
 actua libri .iii. (added is : et aliis prosper per se). P. 119.

(cx—cxiii have been partly erased).

cx. Gradale .i.
 Et troparia ... duo (?) per musicam.
 cx. Missale ad capellam sancti eadmundi.
 cxii. Missale ad sanctum andream.
 cxiii. Missale ad criptam.
 cxiv. Antiphonarium ad catenam.
 cxv. Virgilii .ii^o. V. ...
 cxvi. Statius.
 cxvii. Victorinus et sententie diuerse.
 [f. 2 b b.] (in another hand) pantegni duo.
 cxviii. Pantani de medicina *lined through*.
 cxviii. Lectionarium dominicale.
 cxx. Bibliotheca apostolicum *lined through*.
 cxxi. Bibliotheca anselmi abbatis *lined through*.
 cxxii. Lectionarium sanctorum .ij^o.
 cxxij. Omeliarium estiuale. ? a separate volume O. 55.
 Epistole episcopi cenomannensis (i.e. Hildebert) et plures
 libri tullii senece in another hand.
 cxxij. Bruno super epistolas pauli.
 cxxv. n *erased*.
 cxxvi. Glose super dialecticam magistri
 Widonis de stampis (of Etampes) et episcopi cenomannensis.
 cxxvii. Parabole et ecclesiastes Salomonis
 et .x. minores prophete glosati in .i^o. uolumine. B. 80.
 cxxviii. Iesu nave liber iudicum glosati.
 cxxviii. Apocalipsis glosati. In i^o uolumine.

Number erased. Liber Numeri glosatus.
 Liber Deuteronomii glosatus. B. 51.

In another hand.
 cxxx. Genesi<s> et cantica glosati. B. 40.

cxxxii. Euangelia iohannis et luce glosata. B. 105.
 cxxxii. Liber hugonis de sacramentis. H. 56 (or H. 31 or 32).
A line erased apparently.

In the first hand.

cxxxiii. Job glosatus.
 cxxxiv. Epistole Pauli iii glosate. B. 204, 205, 207.
A line erased.

Lamentationes ieremie glosate
 Et quidem liber sententiarum insimul.

cxxxv. Euuangelium ii mathei glosatum.
 Et glose eiusdem in simul. B. 97 and B. 93.

cxxxvi. Liber de partibus.

In the second hand.

cxxxvii. Epistole glosate Gileberti porrei *lined through.*
 cxxxviii. Psalterium ^a ^a ^{duo} glosatum porrei.

cxxxviii. Psalterium titulatum.

In a third hand.

140, 141. Psalterium himnarium (?) glosatum. phalterium Mag. fulgentii glosatum.
 142. Quoddam salterium glosatum cum expositione misse.
 [f. 3 a a.] *In another hand or in blacker ink.*
 143. Et de ipsis libris sunt glosati genesis
 Et cantica canticorum in uno uolumine. B. 40.
 144. Et exodus glosatus. B. ...
 145. Iesu naue et liber Iudicum et apoc-
 lipsis glosati in uno uolumine *lined through.*
 146. Liber Numeri et Deuteronomium glosati in i^o uolumine *lined*
through. B. 80.
 147. Parabole et ecclesiastes Salomonis
 et x maiores prophete glosati in i^o uolumine *lined through.*
 148. Job glosatus *lined through.*
 149. Ewangelium Iohannis et luce glosati in uno uolumine. B. 105.
 150. Ewangelium Mathei
 et canonice epistole glosati in i^o uolumine. B. 92. *lined through.*
 151. Epistole pauli glosate Magistri anselmi.
 152. Psalterium glosatum *lined through.*
 153. Epistole glosate Gileberti porrei *lined through.*
 154. Gregorius super ezechielem et ancheridion Augustini.
 155. Ambrosii super Beati immaculati.
 156. Beda de templo et xxx questiones eiusdem in libro regum.
 B. 282.
 157. Vitruvius de Architectura. (Cf. Leland, no. 20.)
 158. liber florum.

159. Apocalipsis magistri fulgentii.
 160. Parua decreta.
 161. Minora sacramenta hugonis cum quibusdam sententiis. H. 31
 or 32.
 162. Instituta justiniani.
 163. Isaias glosatus. B. 60, 61 or 62.
 164. Donatus magnus et persius et focas in .i^o. uolumine.
 165. Prima et secunda Rethorica tullii.
 [f. 3 a b.] 166. Hamo super epistolas pauli ad romanos paruus.
 167. Quintiliani de institutionibus oratoricis et merlini i^o pars in .i.
 uolumine.
 168. Edictum piissimi imperatoris iustiniani. F. 12.
 169. Magnus liber sermonum in anglica lingua. Bodl. NEF. 4. 12.
 170. Liber adhortationum sanctorum petrum et uita sanctae mariae
 et sancti simeonis in .i. uolumine.

A line left blank.

171. Decreta graciani iii.
 172. Vita sancti marcialis episcopi. Dicta odonis abbatia.
 173. Vita sancti abdonis abbatis in ij^o quaternis (*this in a hand of*
cent. xiv, xv).
 174. Gregorius super iob in iii^o uoluminibus. G. ...
 175. Pastorale gregorii.
 176. Registrum Gregorii. G. 16.
 177. xl^o ii omelie gregorii. G. 8.
 178. Dialogus gregorii. G. 15.
 179. Oratius totus in uno uolumine.
 180. Codex. ¶ Boetius de trinitate. B. 319.
 181, 182. Boetius de consolatione philosophie. ¶ Arismetica boetii et
 musica et tabule quedam in uno volumine.

183. Itinerarium clementis *added.*

In another hand, of cent. xiii.

184. ¶ Augustinus super beatus uir. A. 2.
 185. super quid gloriaris.
 186. super domine exaudi. A. ... (4).
 187. de ciuitate dei. A. ...
 188. Augustini epistole.
 189. Augustinus super epistolam iohannis.
 190. de doctrina christiana.
 191. Augustini encheridion .ij^o. unum per se (A. 31). alter in fine
 gregorii super ezechielem.

Augustini yponosticon. hoc inuenies cum Ambrosio de misteriis.

192. Ieronimus super ecclesiasten. Ieronimus ad paulam et eustochium de assumptione contra heluidium hereticum. hyldefonsus de sancta maria. Cf. A. 88, J. 20.

193. Ieronimus super quosdam psalmos. J. 3.

194, 195. super xij prophetas in duobus uoluminibus. J. 10
(vol. i).

196. super Matheum. J. 13 (?)

197. Ieronimi epistole. J. 20.

Ieronimus super marcum et in uolumine ephytalamii Origenis
super cantica canticorum.

Ieronimus contra Jouinianum. Requie In uolumine Ambrosii
de misteriis.

198. Ieronimi liber viij^o super ysaiam. J. 6.

[f. 3 b a.] 199. Ysidori sententie.

200. Item idem.

Ysidorus ad florentinam sororem suam de diuinitate.

Ysidorus de differentiis.

201. Ysidorus de libris ueteris et noui testamenti.

de ortu et obitu sanctorum patrum.

de illustribus uiris. hos iij quere cum retractationi-
bus Augustini. A. 3.

202. Gregorius super Ezechielem. G. 6.

203. Item idem et enchyridion Augustini.

204. Gregorii moralium in iob pars media. G. ...

205. Ambrosius de fide.

206, 207. de offitiis ii^o. ? Bodl. 1901.

208, 209. ii exameron. ? Bodl. 1899, 2012.

210. Beda super samuelem.

211. de tabernaculo. ? B. 282.

212. super lucam. B. 287.

213. super marcum.

214. de hystoria anglorum.

215. Origenes super Ihesu naue. O. 2.

216. Origenis epithalamium super cantica canticorum.
sermones. quere post soliloquium Augustini.

217. Origenes super epistolam ad romanos per rufinum translatus.

218. Numeri glosatus. B. 50.

219, 220. Deuteronomium ij glosatus. B. 51, 52.

221. Leuiticus glosatus. B. 48.

222. xij prophete minores glosati. B. 70.

223. ¶ Parbole Salomonis glosate.

224. Ecclesiastes glosatus. B. 80 (?)

225. ¶ Job glosatus.

226. Regum glosati. B. 58.

227. Ihesus filius Sýrac glosatus.

[f. 3 b b.] 228. Daniel glosatus. B. ...

229. Psalterium glosatum. B. 232 (?)

230. Psalterium glosatum anselmi.
 231, 232, 233. Psalteria iii magistri petri.
 234. Iohannes euangelista et lucas glosati. B. 105.
 235. Marcus glosatus. B. 101.
 236. Epistole pauli secundum breuem glosuram ii^o. B. 204, 205.
 237. Epistole canonice glosata. B. 207 (?)
 238. Actus apostolorum glosati. H. 8 (?)
 239. Liber quidam sententiarum.
 240, 241, 242. Sententie magistri petri iii. P. 64.
 P (erasure. ? Paterius).
 243. Iosephus uetus.
 244. Item Iosephus in duobus uoluminibus.
 245. Itinerarium clementia.
 246. Ecclesiastica hystoria. (sc. Bedae ?)
 247. Tripartita hystoria.
 248. Gesta francorum. (= Freculphus ?)
 249. Vita sancti gregorii.
Passio sancti Dionisii.
 250. Vita sancti Martini. Nicholai. Egidii. Audoepi.
 251. Amalarius. A. 121.
 252. Gemma anime.
 253. Consuetudinarium lanfranci.
 254. Consuetudinarium quod azo dedit.
 255. Exceptiones de amalario cum plerisque sententiis.
 256. Exceptiones Radulfi de Carduil.
 257. Liber quidam sermonum.
 258. Regula beati Benedicti Latine et anglice. R. 70.
 258*. Idem cum quibusdam sententiis.
 259. Paradisus.
 260. Gregorius Nazanzenus.
 261. Smaragdus et uitas patrum.
 262. Cirillus.
 263. Iohannes cassianus de institutione monachorum.
 264. Idem de decem collationibus. Cf. Wren 19.
 265. Collationes patrum. Sermones ephrem diaconi.
 266. Rethorica prima et secunda simul.
 267. Quintilianus de Institutionibus oratoriis.

Three (?) leaves, probably blank, are cut out after this.

Here are parts of three catalogues. The first is the portion numbered from i to cxxxviii: the second is the enumeration of the glossed books with additions, on f. 3 *aa*—3 *ab*: the third extends from no. 184 to the end. Just so in the Catalogue of the

Library at Rievaulx (Jesus College Cambr. MS. Q. B. 17), the whole list is written twice over in varying forms. In our present document some few books are entered three times and many of them twice.

The erasures in the Catalogue call for a word of notice. It will have been seen that almost all the service-books have been lined through. This means, no doubt, that as the Catalogue became less of a mere inventory and more of a guide to the contents of the Library, it was felt that service-books belonged rather to the category of church furniture, and that as they were not kept in the Library, they had no place in the Catalogue.

Other erasures are due to different causes: the entry 'cxviii. Pantani de medicina' contained a mistake; it has been corrected to 'pantegni' rightly: erased lines, which occur elsewhere, may represent titles of lost volumes.

The entries of service-books give us, what is very interesting, the names of the localities in the Abbey to which they were assigned. A full discussion of these belongs to an architectural investigation of the site: but a word or two may be said in explanation of them here.

First, no. xxxv, the *Breviarium ad hospites*, will probably have belonged to the Chapel appropriated to guests, which, as I have gathered from other sources, was in the South Transept of the Church. The *Missale ad S. Martinum*, those *ad crucem*, *ad martires*, *ad S. Sabam*, were for other altars in the Church (which possessed at least 17). That of S. Martin was consecrated under Abbot Anselm (1119—1148) by John Bishop of Rochester; that of the Cross by Alberic Bishop of Ostia, Legate in Stephen's reign: it was consecrated during Anselm's absence at Rome, on the Vigil of the Translation of S. Edmund. The last-named, that of S. Saba, was dedicated by Abbot Anselm, who had been Abbot of S. Saba at Rome. Under the number xxvii appears a Breviary for the use of the Infirmary, which seems to have lain N.E. of the Abbey Church. The chapel of S. Edmund, to which the Missal no. cxi is assigned, may have been behind the high altar, or else may be the "Old Chapel"

on the north side of the Church. The Chapel of S. Andrew (see no. cxii) was in the monks' cemetery, and was consecrated by John Bishop of Rochester at the request of Abbot Anselm. The crypt (see no. cxiii) was dedicated to the Virgin, and is described by William of Worcester as being 100 feet long, supported by 24 pillars, and having a well in it. The "chained Antiphoner", no. cxiv, would most likely be in the main choir.

The entry no. cxx, of a *Bibliotheca apostolicum*, is puzzling: can it stand for *Bibliotheca et Apostolicum*, meaning a Bible and the Pauline Epistles? It seems hardly probable. Anselm's Bible, which is no. cxxi, was possibly that described in the *Gesta Sacristarum*, as quoted above; but more probably it was one which Anselm had brought with him from Rome.

There is another source, and a very important one, from which we can gain particulars of the former contents of the Bury Library. This is the comparative Catalogue of Monastic Libraries which was compiled by John Boston, Monk of Bury, in the fifteenth century. This writer, commonly known or not known as Boston of Bury, is said to have flourished about 1410. His book was called *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*. A complete reprint of it has never appeared, but in Wilkins's edition of Tanner's *Bibliotheca* (1748: pp. xvii—xlvi) will be found the preface and a mutilated form of the text. Boston's work was a great one, and must at all costs be printed in full before any really thorough investigation of ancient English Libraries can be undertaken. This excellent man travelled all over England, and part of Scotland, and examined the Libraries of one hundred and ninety-five religious houses. He next constructed an alphabetical Catalogue of all the ecclesiastical authors whom he found represented, and I fancy included all those, also, whose names occurred in the *Catalogi Scriptorum* of Jerome and Gennadius. He set down at the end of his notice of each author the title and first and last words of each of his works, and added in the case of each tract a number or series of numbers. In these numbers lies the distinctive part of his Catalogue: they refer to the list of the 195 Libraries which he had visited, and indicate that he had seen copies of the work

to which they are attached, in the Libraries which they indicate. Thus to Anselm *de libero arbitrio* are affixed the numbers 82. 114. 94. 42. 153. On referring to our list of Libraries we find that 82 is the number of Bury, 114 of Bordesley, 94 of Ford, 42 of Reading, 153 of 'Kelcom' (probably Kelso¹).

The method employed by Boston having been explained, I proceed to extract from the printed portion of his Catalogue all the references to Bury that occur; but I must state clearly what the printed portion of the Catalogue is. It was Bishop Tanner's intention to have printed the whole: but Wilkins, his industrious editor, came, I am sorry to say, to the conclusion that this would not be worth while, and, though he gives the names of all the authors in Boston's list, he only prints the titles of their works and the numbers attached, in the case of British authors. I repeat that this is unfortunate, and that we sorely need a complete text of Boston's *Catalogus*.

In Bury Library, then, Boston found copies of the following works:

Anselm

- de conceptu virginali et originali peccato.
- de veritate et libero arbitrio.
- de concordia praesentiae divinae, praedestinationis et gratiae cum lib. arbitr.
- de libero arbitrio.
- cur deus homo.
- de grammatica.
- de casu diaboli.
- de processione Spiritus Sancti.
- contra insipientem.
- contra respondentem pro insipienti.
- disputationes pro insidente.
- disp. Judaei cum Christiano.
- disp. inter Christianum et gentilem.

¹ The names of the Monasteries in Boston's list are very corrupt. Thus
 93 Buckfestar = Buckfastleigh,
 136 Luya must be Louth,
 149 Harleolum = Karleolum, Carlisle;
 and, what is of more interest to us at this moment, 173 Batewelle monachorum (minororum) must be Babwell, the name of the Franciscan convent at Bury.

de similitudinibus.
 de incarnatione Verbi.
 de sacramento altaris.
 de fermentato et azimo.
 de aeterna beatitudine.
 Soliloquiorum de Trinitate lib. iii.
 Monologion.
 Prosologion.
 de redemptione humana meditatio.
 de planctu virginitatis amissae.
 ad concitandum timorem.
 de passione Christi.
 Orationes (15).
 super illud Evang. *Intravit Iesus.*
 de conceptione S. Mariae.
 Proverbiorum lib. i.
 de sacramentis ecclesiae
 de dedicatione ecclesiae
 super illud *Dum medium silentium* } seemingly in one volume.
 de corpore Christi
 de voluntate Dei.
 de scientia animae Christi.
 de motione altaris.
 Vita.

Alexander Nequam (Neckam)

super Cantica.
 super Psalterium.
 de difficultibus verbis Bibliae.
 super mulierem fortem libb. iii.
 de conversione B. M. Magdalena.
 super symbolum Athanasii.
 cur deus homo vel cur filius incarnatus.
 de nativitate B. V. M.
 de annunciatione
 and apparently also
 de despensatione B. V. M.
 liber qui dicitur Festivale.
 de utensilibus necessariis.
 Scintillarium poetarum vel Methologias.

Adelredus Rievallensis (Aelred of Rievaulx)

super Evang. *Cum erat Iesus xii annorum tract.* iii.
 Speculum caritatis libb. iii.

de spirituali amicitia dialog. libb. iii.
 Soliloquiorum lib. i.
 de institutis inclusarum.
 de diversis virtutibus et militia Christiana.
 Cronica usque ad Henr. I.
 de miraculis eccl. Hagustaldensis }
 de standardo } in one vol. (?).
 Vita S. Edwardi Conf.
 Vita Davidis regis Scotiae cum lamentatione de morte eius, in
 genealogia regum Angliae.
 super evang. *Nemo accendit*.

Alcuin

de Trinitate ad Karolum libb. iii.
 dial. de Trinitate.
 Sententiae.
 Quaest. super genesin ad literam. }
 super Ev. Iohannis libb. vii.
 Quaest. et respons. Albini et Fridegisi de Trinitate. James 198.
 Categoriae ad Karolum.
 de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.
 super Vetus et Novum Testamentum. }
 de fide catholica.
 de antichristo ad Karolum.
 oratio ad Karolum.
 disput. cum Pipino.
 de virtutibus et vitiis et utilitate animae.

Aldhelm

Aenigmata.
 de virginitate ad Hildelitham lib. i.
 de octo vitiis principalibus
 and apparently
 de pascha contra errorem Britonum.

Adalbertus diaconus

de moralibus Gregorii civ capita.

Bacharius

de reparatione lapsi.

Beda

super Gen. —Deut.
 de tabernaculo Moysi.
 super Samuelem.

de templo Salomonis.
 in lib. Regum quaest. xxx.
 super Proverbia Salomonis.
 super Cantica.
 super Esdram et Neemiam.
 super Thobiam.
 super Ysaiam. Esdr. Neemian.
 super Evang. Marci.
 super Evang. Lucae.
 flores Augustini super epistolas.
 in Actus Apostolorum.
 in vii Epp. Canonicas.
 super Apocalipsin.
 lectiones in totum N. T. exc. Evangelio.
 Vita S. Felicis.
 S. Anastasii. }
 S. Cuthberti. }
 Historia Abbatum.
 Historia ecclesiastica.
 Martirologium.
 Ympni. }
 Epigrammata. }
 de natura rerum.
 de temporibus et luna.
 de temporibus horis et momentis.
 de metrica arte.
 de scematibus et tropis.
 de mensibus cum tabulis.
 de formationibus signorum.
 de compoto.
 lamentatio in diem iudicii.
 super librum Donati.
 super mulierem fortem.
 contra Julianum episc. Eclanensem.
 de veritate annorum divinorum.

|| Birdferthus monachus Ramesiae
 super librum Bedae de temporibus.

Gregorius prior de Bridelington
 super cantica canticorum.

Gilbertus Albus abbas de Swyneshed
 super cantica canticorum omeliae xlvi.

Gilbertus abbas Westmonast.

de disputatione Judæi cum seipso.

Henricus Huntedoniensis

super *Beati immaculati.*
de *gestis regum Angliae.*
de *serie regum totius orbis.*
de *serie regum Britanniae.*
de *contemptu mundi.*
de *sanctis Angliae.*

Johannes Sarisburiensis

Policraticon.
Metalogicon.
Enteticum.
Vita et Passio S. Thomae Cantuar.
Euticus i.e. Fortunatus.
Architrenius.

Johannes de Tynmuith

Historia aurea voll. iii.

Johannes de Houden

Meditatio de nativitate et passione Christi: et vocatur Canticum amoris.

Lanfrancus

de *casibus in Missa.*

Nicolaus de Gorham

Distinctiones.
Themata vel sermones de dominicis.

Petrus Blesensis

super *Job.*
de *vera amicitia Christianorum.*
de *conversione S. Pauli.*
Dial. inter Henr. R. Angliae et abbatem Bonevallensem.
de *periculis praelatorum.*

Radulphus Niger (a native of Bury)

super *libros Regum.*
super *Eptaticum.*
Epitome in Paralipomenon.
Remediarium in Esdram.
de *re militari et de tribus viis peregrinationis Ierosolymitanae.*

}

de iv festivitatibus B. Mariae.
 de interpret. Hebraeorum nominum.
 Cronica a principio mundi usque ad tempus suum.}

Robertus Lincolniensis

summa de vii vitiis capitalibus.

Robertus Molendinensis (Melundinensis or Miledunensis)

de sacramentis V. et N. Testamenti.
 sententiarum libb. ii.

Ricardus Radulfi (Armachanus)

de quaestionibus Armeniorum libb. xix.

Ricardus de Hampole

Incendium amoris.
 Melos amoris.
 de amore divino.
 de timore domini et contemptu mundi.
 vehiculum vitae.

These are all the references I can collect from Boston in his present form. In many cases no numbers are given, and this, when we know that the works mentioned were in the Bury Library. Boston may possibly have omitted to attach numbers to books which he knew that his monastery possessed: more probably, Wilkins has tacitly dropped a good many of them.

I am strongly inclined to believe that the person to whom I often refer in the following pages as 'the Librarian' is none other than Boston. In three instances there are notes precisely in his style in Bury MSS.: the first is B. 292, the second, P. 119, where I unfortunately have not transcribed the text of the notes, the third is R. 14, where the 'Librarian' not only gives date and other facts concerning the history of Ralph of Flavigny, but adds a list of his works and a note of other monastic Libraries in which they were to be found, Burton, Witham and Battle. This is just what Boston might have done: the least we can say is that either he wrote the note himself or another Bury monk copied it out of his book. Again, in S. 184, there is a strange list of the chapters in the work called 'Suda,' and in Boston's Catalogue some very odd facts about this work are given s.v. *Robertus Lincolniensis*

Two sheets of this Essay had been already printed, when I found mention of a Bury MS., which had escaped my notice on a first reading, in the Catalogue of the MSS. in Bp Cosin's Library at Durham. It was a copy of Isidore, which will be found described under Y. 28. I wrote to the Rev. J. T. Fowler, in whose charge these MSS. are, and he very kindly sent me full particulars of this and the only other Bury MS. in the collection (S. 78). The donor of the Isidore was William Curteys, Abbot from 1429 to 1445; and the inscription in which he has recorded his gift is particularly interesting and important; the words run thus: "Isidore's Etymologies, provided by Dom. William Curteys, Abbot of the monastery of St Edmund of Bury: with a notable Index: which book he assigned and gave to the Library, *constructed by himself*, of the said monastery, there perpetually to remain: and it is marked under letter Y and number 28."

Here then, in the three words I have italicised, is the complete answer to the question, Who built the Library? True, the locality of the building still remains unknown: but, as in the case of Salisbury, we may well conceive of it as a fifteenth century structure over the cloister. And be it noted that Abbot Curteys's date (1429—1445) corresponds well with that of Boston of Bury (cir. 1430). I should not be at all surprised to learn that Curteys built and arranged the Library in accordance with Boston's views, and at his instigation. For it seems likely that Boston's great bibliographical work had been already written when Curteys became Abbot. If anything, I see in this new discovery a confirmation of my idea that Boston is the "Librarian" of whom I have so often spoken.

It will be right to add in this place the observation that the fifteenth century seems to have been a great period for the erection of special buildings in monasteries to contain books. Abbot John Whethamstede of St Albans built the Library there in his second abbacy, in 1452-3. At Christ Church, Canterbury, the Library seems to have been built in the same century: and it would be possible to cite many similar examples from the history of religious houses both English and foreign.

iii. *The extant remains of the Library.*

The last section of this Essay is to consist of an enumeration, with brief descriptions, of the extant MSS. which at one time belonged to the Abbey of S. Edmund. A certain number of these have lost their press-mark along with their first leaf; but I shall not insert any of whose connexion with Bury I do not feel fairly confident. The order I follow is that of the old press-marks.

	Bury press-mark.	Title of Book.	Date.	Where preserved.
1.	A. 2.	Augustinus super <i>Beatus vir</i> (Pss. i—l).	xi, xii.	Bodl. e Mus. 8.
2.	A. ... (? 4).	Augustinus super <i>Domine exaudi</i> (Pss. ci—cl).	xi, xii.	Bodl. e Mus. 7.

In double columns: a fine volume. The writing gets larger towards the end.

In the same hand as the last: at the beginning are four leaves of music on a 5-line stave, of cent. xv. The following are the opening words of the hymns contained in this fragment:

Maria mole pressa.
Zorobabel abigo clam palam et abicio.
Petrum cernis (?) e col... lanxantem rethia.
Rex.....
Petrus pastor potissimus.
Rex inuictissime regnorum omnium.
Lux refulget monachorum regis in palacio.
Duodeno sydere micat miro munere.
Frondentibus florentibus siluis sentibus congaudet philomena.
Aue miles celestis curie.
De flore martirum modum milicie.
Aue rex patrone prime.
Deus tuorum militum prefulget flos Edmundus.
Templum eya Salomonis in superne regionis.
Barabas dimittitur dignus patibulo.

3.	A. 8.	Augustini in Iohannem tractatus cxxiv.	xi, xii.	Bodl. e Mus. 6.
		Vita Augustini.		

Resembles nos. 1 and 2: in double columns.

4. A. 24. *Augustinus contra Faustum* xi, xii. Bodl. e Mus.
Manichaeum. 32.

In double columns: damaged by fire. *Cat. Vet.* xxxvii.

5. A. 27. *Augustinus de nuptiis et concupiscentia.* xii. Bodl. Add. C. 181.

In double columns: purchased in 1881 of W. Butt, Esq., Axmouth.
Cat. Vet. lx.

6. A. 31 (*sic*). *Augustini retractationum.* xii. Bodl. e Mus.
Cassiodorus de inst. diuin. litt. 31.
Ysidorus, etc.

Original binding: in double columns: a fine book. *Cat. Vet.* lxii.

7. A. 31 (*sic*). *Augustini enchiridion.* ix, x. Pemb. Coll. Camb.
A small book. *Cat. Vet.* 191. Wren 41. James 197.

8. A. 52. 1 *Augustinus de f. 1.* xiv and Brit. Mus. Royal
spiritu et anima. xii, xiii. 5. A. viii.
2 *Liber sententiarum Ysidori siue Ysidorus de*
summo bono. f. 19.
3 *Innocencius de miseria condicione humana.* f. 87.
4 *Meditaciones B. Bernardi Abbatis.* f. 108.
5 *Paruus tractatus de uiciis et uirtutibus.* f. 122.
6 *Quedam miracula B. Mariae cum aliis.* f. 144.
7 *Item notabilia pro sermonibus cum distinctioni-*
bus et aliis. f. 152.
8 *Liber Scintillarum pro eodem, etc.*

A square book ff. 255+6. Formerly belonged to John, Lord Lumley. The *Liber Scintillarum* may be that in *Cat. Vet.* li. The fly-leaves come from a copy of Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum Uniuersale de apibus*, ii. 25, 26; Walterus de traiecto, monasterium uallense, Robertus abbas uacellensis are mentioned. See Scott's *Catalogue of Romances*, ii. 650, where the Miracles of the Virgin in this MS. are analysed.

9. A. 61. *Ambrosius de bono mortis.* xii. Pemb.
de obseruantia episcoporum.
Epistolae.
contra Symmachum de tradendis basilicis.

de obitu Theodosii. de SS. Geruasio et Protasio.
de apologia Dauid. de uinea Naboth.

Original binding: *Cat. Vet.* xlvi. Wren 29. James 193.

10. A. 67. Ambrosius super Lucam. xii. Bodl. e Mus. 27.

In double columns: the first two initials in outline, the rest in plain colours. *Cat. Vet.* xxv.

11. A. 83. Anselmi Epistolae. xii. Corp. Chr. Camb. cxxxv.

Cat. Vet. xxviii.

12. A. 88. Anselmus de Concept. B. V. M. xiii. B. M. Royal

Ieronimus.

6. B. x.

Hildefonsus de B. Maria.

Miracula B. V. M.

Belonged to John, Lord Lumley. Cf. *Cat. Vet.* xviii, and *Catal. of Romances*, ii. 642.

13. A. 92. Anselmus de similitudinibus. xiv. Pemb.

Augustinus.

Beda.

Ambrosius.

Enchiridion Augustini.

'De empacione fratris Iohannis abbatis ad usum monachorum S. Edmundi.' Precium xx'. In double columns, not well written. Not mentioned by Wren. James 203.

14. A. 109. Quaestiones Altissiodorensis in i et ii sententiarum.

xiii (?).

Pemb.

Wren 25. James 181.

15. A. 110. Quaestiones Altissiodorensis in iii sententiarum.

xiii (?).

Pemb.

Wren 39. James 168.

16. (A. 111?). Quaestiones Altissiodorensis super iv sententiarum.

xiii (?).

Pemb.

The first leaf is gone: the last has a document signed by Will= Babynton and Joh. Lauynham. Not in Wren. William Babyngton was Abbot of Bury between 1445 and 1454. James 166.

17. A. 114. Excerpta Alexandri de Ales (? Altissiodorensis)

in iv sententiarum.

xiii.

Pemb.

Original binding: strap and pin fastening: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Not in Wren. James 171.

18. A. 119. *Aldhelmi Aenigmata.* x. xi. Bodl. Rawl. C. 697.
Prudentii Psychomachia.

ff. 78. The prologue to the Psychomachia is on two inserted leaves of cent. xii: the poem is not illustrated. On f. 78 b in an English hand almost contemporary is an acrostic in hexameters of the names ADALSTAN and IOHANNES.

Archalis clamare trium uir nomine sux I
 Diue tuo fons prognossim Feliciter aeu O
 Augustine samu cernentis rupis eris el H
 Laruale fonti beliales robure contr A
 Saepe seges messem Fecunda prenotat altam i N
 Tutis solandum petrinum solibus agme N
 Amplius amplificare sacra sophismatis arc E
 Nomina orto petas donet precor inclita doxu S

which those may translate who can: the last line it seems should be read thus:

Petas, precor, ortodoxus donet inclita nomina:

and in l. 3 the same figure of *tmesis* has been employed on the name samuhel. See Leland, no. 18.

19. A. 121. *Amalarius de officio missae, etc.* xii. Pemb.

'Liber de armario claustris monachorum S. Edmundi.' Original binding. *Cat. Vet.* 251. Wren 15. James 79.

20. A. 124. *Andreas de S. Victore super Isaiam, Ieremiam, Danielem.* xiii. Pemb.

ff. 135: original binding: chain-mark at top of front cover. Wren 18. James 82.

21. A. 143. *Armachanus de quaestionibus Armenorum.*

xv. Pemb.

Rebound. The old table of chapters on two leaves is preserved among fragments in the Library. At the top of f. 2 b in a large hand is: *Istum librum procurauit monasterio S. Edmundi ffrater Iohannes Gosford monachus eiusdem loci: in quo continentur scripta domini armachani de questionibus armenorum.* Wren 47. James 224.

22. A. 222. *Centiloquium Tholomei, etc.* xiii. Pemb.

It is not clear why this is in class A. Wren 43. James 230. There is a fly-leaf from a xth century service-book.

23. A. ... (erased). *Augustinus de concordia euangelistarum.*
 xii. Bodl. e Mus. 33.
Wimundus de corpore et sanguine domini.
 In double columns. *Cat. Vet.* xiii.

24. [A. ...]. *Augustinus de ciuitate dei.* xv and xii. Pemb.
 Rebound: the first quire is of cent. xv, the rest of xiith century in a fine hand. The general appearance suggests Bury as the source. *Cat. Vet.* 187.

25. [A. ...]. *Augustinus super genesim ad litteram.*
 xii. Jesus Coll. Camb. Q. G. 1.
 With other tracts by Augustine. Fly-leaves lost: original binding: white skin over boards: flat-backed: straps and pins: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Traces of title in Lombardic letters on back. Bought in 1484 in London by Gunthorp, Dean of Wells (may have been sold as a duplicate). ff. 147. Cf. *Cat. Vet.* xxvi.

26. [A. ...]. *Augustinus super genesim ad litteram, etc.*
 xiv Pemb.
 Precium xl'. Most probably from Bury.

27. [A. ...]. *Augustinus in Romanos et 1. Corinthios.*
 xii. The Museum, Wisbech.
 Two columns: f. 1 is gone. Binding, white skin on boards: strap and pin fastening. *Cat. Vet.* lvii.

B.

28. B. 40. *Genesis et cantica canticorum glosati.* xii. Pemb.
 The Catalogue (p. 23) occupies the last three leaves.
 Original binding: strap and pin fastening: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 58.

29. [B. 4...]. *Exodus glosatus.* xiii. Ipswich Museum, no. 3.
 Vellum, folio, ff. 128 in quires of eight: given by Wm. Smart. No press-mark: a splendid initial H on gold ground occupies nearly all the first page.

30. B. 46 (*sic*). *Boraston Distinctiones.* xv. Bodl. 216.
 Original binding, red vellum over boards: double columns. I am doubtful if the number can be correct. B. 460 would be more likely. The book is a late one, and disturbs the order of the glossed books of the Bible.

31. [B. 47 ?]. Exodus glosatus. xii (early). Pemb.
Tractatus de uiciis et uirtutibus.

Has no mark, probably owing to loss of fly-leaves; the hand seems identical with that of B. 101. It is most likely Wren 59.

32. B. 48. Leuiticus glosatus. xii. Pemb.

Original binding: strap and pin, chain-clasp, formerly at bottom of front cover, then moved to top: a fine book. At the end is a note, probably in the hand of the xvth century Librarian: 'hunc librum exponit etiam Radulphus flauiacensis monachus et abbas.' Wren 60.

33. B. 50. Numeri glosatūs. xii, xiii. Pemb.

Initial as in B. 101. Wren 61.

34. B. 51. Numeri et Deuteronomium glosati. xii. Pemb.

Strap and pin fastening: chain-mark at bottom of front cover: has a good initial. Wren 62.

35. B. 52. Deuteronomium glosatus. xii. Pemb.

Wren 63.

36. [B. 53 (?)]. Josue, Judicum etc.—Hester glosati.

xii. Pemb.

Rebound. Wren 64.

37. B. 55. Iosue et Iudicum glosati. xii. Ipswich Museum,
no. 8.

Vellum, sm. 4to, pointed hand. *Collation*: i⁸—vi⁸ vii⁸: i⁸—iiii⁸ v⁸ (wants 8): ff. 93. Iosue et Iudicum glosati monachorum S. Edmundi. B. 55. Given by W. Smart: bound with B. 240.

38. B. 57. Ruth, Hester, Jos., Jud. etc.—Neemias et xii prophetae glosati. xii, xiii. Pemb.

ff. 382 in three hands at least.

'De dono magistri Johannis de Wlpit rectoris de ffortune.' Wren 65.

39. B. 58. Libri Regum glosati. xii. Pemb.

Strap and pin: chain-mark at bottom of front cover: well written. Wren 66.

40. B. 59. Paralipomena, Esdras, Machabeorum glosati.
xiii. Pemb.

Original binding: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 67.

41. B. 60. *Ysayas glosatus.* xii. Pemb.
 'Ys. glos. monachorum S. Edmundi.' Chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 68.

42. B. 61. *Ysayas glosatus.* xii, xiii. Pemb.
 Strap and pin: chain-clasp at top of front cover.
 "Liber sancti Eadmundi."
 On the cover at the beginning is pasted a fragment (two leaves, torn) of a Hebrew MS., coeval with the binding. Wren 69.

43. B. 62. *Ysayas glosatus.* xiii. Pemb.
 Liber S. Edmundi martiris.
 Original binding with title on the back: *Ysaias. B. 62.* Not in Wren.

44. B. 66. *Ezechiel glosatus.* xiii. Pemb.
 Original binding: chain-clasp at bottom of front cover. Title in Lombardic letters on the back. Wren 70.

45. [B. ? ...]. *Daniel glosatus.* xiii. Pemb.
 Original binding: seems to have had a title on the back: two clasps: no chain-mark. 'Sancti spiritus assit nobis gracia' on f. 1. This is not much like a Bury book, but Wren's list (no. 71) shews that there must have been a gloss on Daniel among Smart's books.

46. B. 70. *xii prophetae et Daniel glosati.* xiii. Pemb.
 A good initial to Hosea. 'Dedit magister Stephanus sancto Ead-mundo. Si quis hunc librum a S. Eadmundo alienauerit sciat se iram dei et S. Eadmundi incurriere.' Wren 72.

47. B. 80. *Proverbia Ecclesiastes xii Prophetae glosati.* xii. Pemb.
 Original binding: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. The xii Prophets are in another hand. Not in Wren.

48. B. 92. *Matheus et Epistolae Canonicae glosati.* xii, xiii. Pemb.
 Original binding: title in Lombardic capitals on the back. Not in Wren.

49. B. 93. *Matheus glosatus.* xii. Pemb.
 Coarsely written: at end 'Iste liber constat Johanni de geyste (geysle, i.e. Gazeley).' Wren 73.

50. B. 95. Matheus glosatus. xii. Pemb.
 Psalmi glosati in several hands. xiii, xiv.

The 'gloss on the Psalms' is really a series of extracts from the Bible. Original binding: strap and pin: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 74.

51. B. 97. Matheus glosatus. xii. Pemb.

Followed by a continuous comment on Matthew, beginning: Cum post ascensionem, in quires of eight (i—viii). Original binding: strap and pin: the boards bevelled, not flat: chain-mark at top of front cover. Wren 73.

52. B. 99. Marcus glosatus. xiii. Pemb.

Fine initials: fly-leaf gone: original binding: strap and pin: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Title in Lombardic capitals on the back. MA.... GLOSATVS B 99. Wren 77(?)

53. i B. 101. Marcus glosatus. xii. Pemb.

ii L. ... Hugo super decreta etc. See under L.

'Marcus glosatus de armario S. Edmundi.' An initial representing a monk. The gloss on Mark in the same hand as that on Exodus (no. 29). Wren 76.

54. B. 105. Lucas et Iohannes glosati. xii (early). Pemb.

Original binding: strap and pin: chain moved from bottom to top of front cover. The last fly-leaf is an unfinished copy of one page of John xx. Wren 78.

55. [? B. 106]. Postillae in Lucam et Iohannem. xiii. Pemb.

The first leaf gone: in double columns: a good initial to S. John's Gospel. Wren 79.

56. B. 109. Iohannes glosatus. xii. Pemb.

In three columns: well written: chain-clasp at bottom of front cover. Wren 32. James 158.

57. B. 204. Epistolae Pauli ix, Apocalypsis, Ecclesiastes glosati. xiii. Pemb.

The Epistles are Rom.—Col. The Apocalypse is followed by the Greek alphabet, and a calculation of the number of the Beast. Not in Wren.

58. B. 205. Epistolae Pauli glosatae. xii. Pemb.

In xvii quires of eight: a fine outline initial, with nude climbing figure. Chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 80.

59. *Glossa in Epistolas Pauli.* xii. S. John's Coll. Camb.
D. 17.

ff. 240: original binding: white skin over boards: gold initials with red gold. No mark: resembles the Bury style, and was given by Jeremiah Holt.

60. [B. 206 ?]. *Epistolae Pauli glosatae.* xii, xiii. S. James's Library at Bury.

Given in 1639 by a Head Master of Bury School. Mutilated at each end.

61. B. 207. *Epistolae Canonicae et epistolae Pauli glosatae.* xi, xii. Pemb.

Original binding: strap and pin: chain moved from bottom to top of front cover. On f. 1 b is a hymn in 12 lines to S. Edmund.

Gloriose rex edmunde uir uirtutum uir iocunde
Tota mente te requiro ut peccati nexu diro, etc.

A fine book.

62. [? B. 20...]. *Epistolae Pauli glosatae.* xii. Pemb.

Well written: in red vellum over boards: no mark, but resembling Bury books.

63. B. 220. *Expositio in Ruth et Deuteronomium.* xiii. Bodl. 715.
In two columns. Cf. James 161.

64. B. 225. *Breuiloquentum Bonauenturae.* xiv. Pemb.
Threni. *Cantica Canticorum glosati.* xiii.

These last in a beautiful hand. Wren 35. James 172. See below under B. 30.

65. B. 231. *Memoriale Grosseteste super Exameron Basilii.* xiii. Pemb.
Postilla super Psalmos, Ysaiam, Ieremiam, Danielem, xii prophetas, Marcum.

In double columns. The *Memoriale Grosseteste* is gone. On the lower margin of f. 1 is this entry *κυατερπινον 29 i. a. Wren 26. James 148.*

66. B. 232. *Expositio super Psalterium.* xii (early). Bodl. 737.
A fine book in double columns: original binding. Cf. James 150.

67. B. 233. *Postillae super Psalterium.* xiii, xv. Bodl. 860.

Full title: Postille seu collecta super psalterium in scolis magistri W. de Montibus.

Collecta Samuelis Presbyteri in scolis predictis.

Mostly in verse, with gloss. Cf. James 149.

68. B. 240. Expositio super Psalterium secundum Ric. de S. Victore. xiii. Ipswich Museum, no. 8.

Vellum, 4to, ff. 136: quires of 8: lovely hand, especially the comment surrounding the main text, which is itself the Expositio. It would be difficult to point to a much better specimen of small writing.

The title is written in the same hand as that of B. 357.

B. 240.

Liber Sancti Edmundi Regis in quo continentur Expositio super psalterium.

B. 55.

Iosue et Iudicum glosati.

Below this is 20 Julii 1590. Collegium... (erasure) e dono Gulielmi S(mart).

The prologue begins *Si ante oculos tuos domine culpas quas fecimus.* The exposition is said in the prologue to be derived from Augustine Yvo Monogaldus Anselm Serlo.

69. B. 265. Expositio missae. ? ?

Mentioned in a xvth century note by the Librarian, in R. 40. f. 166.

70. B. 276. Concordantiae in Biblia. xiv. Pemb.

Has good initials. Wren 11. James 88.

71. [B. 277 ?]. Concordantia in Biblia. xiv, xv. Ipswich Museum, no. 1.

Vellum, large folio, imperfect at both ends: three main columns of 73 lines each on a page: *Abnigate—Vultus.* Coarse illuminated letters and written in a rough ugly hand. Given by Smart.

72. B. 280. Beda super v libros Moysi. xii. Bodl. e Mus. 36.

ff. 135 in double columns. A fine outline initial to Genesis. At top is Christ in a mandorla seated full-face with book, beardless: below Him the sign of Pisces: below that, Leo: below that, a Dragon or Capricorn: at the bottom Adam and Eve looking up. *Cat. Vet.* vi.

73. B. 282. Beda de Templo Salomonis. ix ? Pemb.

A remarkable book. Wren 54.

74. B. 287. Beda super Lucam. ix, x and xiii. Pemb.

xxvi quires of eight in the original hand: the remainder in double columns of cent. xiii. On f. 1a is a note of 8½ lines in Anglo-Saxon. Wren 30. James 213.

75. [B. 288]. Beda super Lucam. xii, xiii. Ipswich Museum, no. 2.

Vellum, large folio, double columns of 40 lines each, ff. 128. Quires of eight leaves: well written, plain initials. Two quires gone at the beginning: begins "pro nostra redemptione incarnatum" (on Luc. ii. 14 § v). Rust-mark from pin-fastening in centre of last leaf. Given by W. Smart: modern binding.

76. B. 290. Beda in Rom. et 1 Cor. xii, xiii. Bodl. e Mus. 9.

Has on the fly-leaf a long note on Bede's works in the Librarian's hand.

77. B. 292. Beda super Apocalypsim et Epistolas Canonicas. xii. King's Coll. Cambr. 4.

In double columns. *Cat. Vet.* xl. Given by Pearson in 1665. 'Liber S. Edmundi.'

78. B. 295. Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum. xv. Sid. Sussex Coll. Cambr. Δ. 5. 17.

Very neatly written: has no mark of its origin other than the press-mark.

79. B. 305. Bernardus super Cantica. xii, xiii. Pemb.
Hugo de archa Noe.

^{edificio}
de archa sapientie.
de v septenis.

Sermones cuiusdam notabiles et deuoti.

In several hands. At the end is a list in the Librarian's hand of sermons by S. Bernard 'in papiro.' The edges of the leaves are painted. The note at the beginning is: Liber S. Eadmundi quem quicunque alienauerit anathema sit in die iudicii nisi inde condignam satisfaccionem dicto sancto fecerit. Wren 48.

80. B. 319. Boecius. xi, xii. Pemb.
Not in Wren. James 215.

81. B. 328. Breuiloquium Bonaventurae. xiii. Pemb.

Original binding: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 46. James 167.

82. B. 340. Berengaudus super Apocalypsim. xii, xiii. Pemb.
 Postilla uel lecture super euangelium Iohannis.
 Sermones antiqui (Johannis de Alba Villa).
 Bound with T. 65, P. 92. Wren 23.

83. B. 357. Bernardus de sex alis. f. 124. xiii etc. S. James's
 Library at Bury.
 Interpretatio de nominibus patriarcharum. 125 b.
 Bernardus super Threnos. 126 b.
 Extracts. 128 b.
 Tractatus de spiritu sancto. 129. Begins: Iam
 nunc ascendamus.
 Quaestiones. Mutilated. 134.
 Miscellaneous extracts. 135.
 Distinctiones. 141.
 Bernardus Ep. Signiensis de dedicatione ecclesie.
 148.
 Sermons. 152.
 Notes and tables. 160—165.
 Bound with M. 27: old binding, white skin over rounded boards: not
 flat-backed: one clasp: no chain-mark. Fly-leaves from a roll of accounts
 cent. xv. Cf. S. 26.

84. B. 385. Bonauentura super iv^{taum} sententiarum.
 xiii, xiv. Pemb.
 The mark B is in black letter as in the case of E. 24. In double
 columns and more than one hand. Wren 36. James 174 or 200.

85. B. 555. 1 Bellum Troianum by Guido de Colonna. f. 3.
 xv. B. M. Harley 51.
 2 Iacobi de Theramo Victoria iuridica Christi
 contra Sathanam, siue Peccatorum consolatio.
 f. 106.
 Small folio, single lines. On f. 2 b is "Hunc librum procurauit monas-
 terio S. Edmundi pater Robertus de Wessingham suis sumptibus et expen-
 sis cuius anime propicietur deus. amen." The press-mark is on the corner
 of f. 3 a: the letter almost gone, the number distinct. The MS. belonged
 in cent. xvi to Thos. Lacey and Thos. Oliver.

86. [B. 28..]. Beda super Parabolam Salomonis.
 xii. S. John's Coll. Camb. C. 16.

ff. 67, bound in red vellum on boards: fly-leaf gone: the foliation seems to be in the Librarian's hand. The book is almost certainly from Bury, and was given by Jer. Holt.

87. [B. ...]. *Lyrae Postilla super Gen.—Regum.* xv. Pemb.

Liber monachorum S. Edmundi. First leaf gone: in double columns. Wren 55. James 154.

88. [B. ...]. *Bromyard Tract. Iuris Ciuilis et Canon.*

xv. Pemb.

Almost certainly a Bury book: mark gone. James 122.

89. [B. 104 ?]. *Lucas glosatus.* xii. Pemb.

Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia.

Original binding: strap and pin: chain-clasp at bottom of front cover: title in Lombardic letters on the backGLOSATVS.

90. [B. 28..?]. *Bedaе historia ecclesiastica.* xi, xii. Pemb.

Olim Johannis de Westwick. On f. 1 *a* is a list of the Bishops of Lindisfarne. Also this note: Ynguar and Vbbe. Beorn was þe pridde. Lope brokes sunes. Lope weren criste, and a note on Ubba's death: Ynguar and Ubba were Edmund's slayers. The contents are: 1. Vita S. Alexii. 2. Bedae historia. 3. Vita Bedae. 4. In another hand, Extracts from Decrees of S. Gregory. James 124.

91. [B. 49 ?]. *Leuiticus glosatus.* xii, xiii. Pemb.

Imperfect: first leaf gone: at the end in the Librarian's hand is the note: hunc librum exponit plenius Radulphus abbas flauiacensis. On the fly-leaf at the beginning is a letter A in blue, on that at the end a C in green.

92. B. 30. *Biblia versificata.*

?

?

This is a title written in Lombardic capitals on the old binding of B. 225, now kept with other fragments in the Library of Pembroke College.

C.

93. C. 4. *Gul. Malmesburiensis Gesta Pontificum.*

xii. Magd. Coll. Oxf. 172.

The autograph of William of Malmesbury, on which the Rolls Edition is based (see p. xi): a small quarto, ff. 103.

94. C. 16. *Claudius Clemens Presbyter in Matthaeum.* xii. *Pemb.*
Has a good initial in pale colours. *Wren* 2. *James* 92.

95. C. 49. *Chronica.* xiii. *B. M. Harl.* 447.
See *Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey*, 1 p. viii, 11 pp. vii, viii.

96. C. 53. *Mariani Scotti Chronicon*, really *Florence of Worcester*, etc. xii, xiii. *Bodl.* 297.
ff. 425: double columns. See *Memorials*, 1 p. viii.

97. C. 63. *Liber de consuetudinibus monasterii Buriae S. Edmundi.* xiii.

Vellum, about $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, ff. 122: has the book-plate of John Gage, Lincoln's Inn. Once at Hengrave Hall, where there is a transcript: afterwards in the possession of Mr Toovey; recently sold to H. H. Prince Frederick Duleep Singh. I owe these particulars to the kindness of Mr E. Powell. It is almost certainly that which Battely speaks of as *Consuetudinarium penes Lord Cornwallis*; he was once possessor of Hengrave.

98. C. 64.

On f. 115 of the *Liber Albus* is this note (by the Librarian), following a list of days 'quibus conuentus bis reficitur': "he scripte sunt de antiquo quaterno consuetudinum cum littera C. 78 intitulato et ex traditionibus fratrum in custodia T. de Saxham in pergameno cum littera C. 64 intitulatis in librario." It is mentioned again on f. 116.

99. C. 65. *Liber traditionum* (classed as *Consuetudines* or *Chartae* probably). xiv. *B. M. Harl.* 3977.
Referred to in the Abbot's book of formulas, Jesus Coll. Camb. Q. B. 1.

100. C. 68. *Chronica.* xiv (?). *B. M. Harl.* 1005.
The famous 'Liber Albus,' containing *inter alia* the only complete copy of the Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond¹.
Liber monachorum S. Edmundi.

101. [C. ...]. *Chronica Iohannis Euerisden Celerarii.*
xiv, xv. *College of Arms, MS. Arundel* xxx.

Has fly-leaves from a Virgil of xi cent. palimpsest, and also one from a Troper (?) with names (xi, xii). Contains part of a xv cent. Nennius and many verses copied from Churches, especially S. Edmund's. Modern binding: no mark. It is very like the *Liber Albus* (C. 68).

¹ Another copy was in Vitellius D. xv, a MS. destroyed in the fire of 1731.

102. C. 78. See under C. 64.

103. [C ...]. Historia Normannorum. xii. B. M. Claud. A. xii.
Evax de lapidibus.

Bound with the *Registrum Hostilariae*, and most likely from Bury, but without a mark.

104. [C ...]. Annales. xiv. B. M. Harl. 1132.

In black and red: 40 ff.; imperfect at both ends. Events at Bury and Colchester are noticed: S. Edmund's birth and death are recorded in red. The foundations of Butley and Leiston are recorded. The book belonged to John Foxe and Peter le Neve.

105. [C ...]. Chronicon anonymi. xiv. Camb. Univ. Libr.
Add. 850.

See Arnold, *Memorials* i p. ix. A Life of S. Edmund in Latin verse, and a short Chronicle of the Abbey from the foundation by Canute to the writer's own time (cir. 1350). The MS. is only part of a larger volume, and no mark survives. It belonged to Thomas Martin.

106. [C ...]. Cyprian. xii. Pemb.

Fly-leaf of cent. x from a service-book.

107. C. ... Cassianus. ?? ?

See Wren 19. Not to be found at Pembroke.

D.

108. D. 6. Dionysius de diuinis nominibus. xiii. B. M. Royal
Anselmi et 7. B. ix.
Augustini quaedam.

ff. 153, in double columns, in a fine small hand. The fly-leaves from a Pontifical(?) in a large hand of cent. xiii.

'De procuratione et dono Domini Will. Henry doctoris theologie et monachi S. Edmundi de Bury.'

A table of contents on f. 7b: see *Cat. of Romances*, ii. 235. Belonged to John Lord Lumley: fly-leaves from a law MS. (ten in all).

109. D. ... Disciplina clericalis. xiv, xv and B. M. Royal
xiii. 10. B. xii.

Dicta Bernardi, other Dicta, and part of Legenda
Aurea.

At the end of the Disciplina is a note by the Librarian: 'deficiunt viii'
capitula parua de isto opusculo uidelicet i. folium et dimidium.'

E.

110. E. 11. *Enchiridion ex summa Raymundi.*

xiv and xiii. Pemb.

*Excerpta ex libris Orosii, Trogi Pompei et aliorum ualde notabilia.**Augustini quaedam.**Alanus.**Lapidarium in romano.**Ieronimus de ponderibus et mensuris.*

Wren 52(?). James 220.

111. E. 24. *Expositio in Psalmos.* xiii. S. John's Coll. Camb.

Ailredus Rievallensis de oneribus. F. 3.

Given by Jeremiah Holt. Original binding, white skin on boards.
The mark is in black letter.

112. E. 43. 1. *Chronicon Paparum.* f. 1.2. *Historia de Rege Bruto continuata usque ad tempora Ricardi ii.* f. 16.

xv. Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambridge, 251.

34 lines to a page; two figured initials, one showing S. Peter as Pope, the other a King seated in long robe with shield and lance. There is a long life of S. Edmund inserted, beginning "Sanctus Edmundus Alkmundi regis Saxonie et Siware regine filius."

On the verso of the last leaf but one is the note beginning "Anno domini m^o.cc^o.lxxv^o deposita est capella rotunda" and ending "ortus fere trariorum" which occurs in the College of Arms MS. Arundel xxx.

On the recto of the last leaf is a list called *Pensio scolarum:* Imprimis de fere trariis ad festum S. Michaelis iiis vjd....Item pro Will^{mo} Rowham (Rougham) xjd....Item pro priore Joh. Gofford (Gosford) xxd. Item de camerario pro Ed^o. Bokynham. Item pro Henr. de Stablys....de manerio de Hesete...de Thoma Munchesey. Item de sacrista pro abbatte Will. Cratfeld iiis. iiijd.

I do not quite see why the volume is classed under the letter E. Mr E. Powell was good enough to call my attention to this book.

F.

113. F. 12. Justiniani Edictum de Fide, etc. ix, x. Pemb.

A small book, rebound. Wren 53. James 221.

114. F. ... Freculphi historia. xii. Camb. Univ. Lib.
Ii. 2. 10.

Fly-leaf gone: title (cut) in Librarian's hand, as I think on f. 1 α : in double columns. Cf. Leland 21. *Cat. Vet. lxxiii.*

115. F. ... Forma componendi litteras. xiv. Pemb.

Mark gone: bound with S. 65: rounded boards; strap and pin: chain-mark at top of front cover. Not in Wren. James 222.

G.

116. G. 2. Gregorii Moralium Liber xi—xxii. xiii. Pemb.

The mark is of cent. xv: at the end is 'precium huius libri...' Not in Wren.

117. G. 8. Gregorius in Euangelia. xii. Pemb.

Has several figured initials: a fine book. 'omelie gregorii de armario claustris monachorum S. Edmundi.' Title and number in Lombardic letters on the back: strap and pin: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Wren 34. James 206.

118. G. 6. Gregorius in Ezechielem. xi. S. John's Coll.

Camb. B. 13.

4to.: a fine MS. in quires of eight marked A, B,...X,+5: 28 lines to a page. Original binding, white skin over boards. Gregorius super ezechielem de refectorio monachorum sci edmundi: given by Jer. Holt.

119. G. 15. Gregorii Dialogus. xiii and xv. B. M. Royal
Hugo de archa Noe, etc. 8. F. xiv.

Small folio ff. 198+6. Two fly-leaves from a glossed Virgil of cent. x, xi. (cf. no. 101) 'per fratrem h. de k. (Henricum de Kirkestede).'

120. G. 16. Gregorii Registrum. xi, xii. B. M. Royal 6. C. ii.

ff. 188: de communi armario claustris S. Edmundi regis et martiris: in a beautiful hand. At the end an extract in which the date 1079 occurs,

and another of cent. xii concerning the visit of a pope Alexander (Rollandus) to Venice, in the same hand.

121. G. 18. *Ecloga de Gregorii Moralibus.* x (?). Pemb.

The mark is like that in G. 6. *Liber sancti Edmundi regis et martiris.* On the verso of the last leaf is an imperfect note in Anglo-Saxon of five lines, giving numbers of men, sheep, swine, etc. at some place not stated. Wren 51. James 205.

122. G. 129. *Gregorius in Ezechielem.* xv. Pemb.

De empacione fratris Will. Barwe (sacrist in 1414).

Original binding, red vellum over boards: two clasps: chain-mark at bottom of front cover, and also on the last cover: fly-leaf at end from an *Antiphoner.* Later table of contents: 'precium xxxs.' Wren 14. James 86 or 204.

123. [G. ...] *Gregorii Moralia.* xiii. Pemb.

f. 1 gone: in double columns: chain-mark at bottom of front cover: in a good hand; the initials have been cut out. Not in Wren.

124. [G. 3 ?]. *Gregorii Moralium tertia pars (xxviii—xxxv).* xii. Pemb.

Original binding: f. 1 gone. Not in Wren. James 207.

125. [G. ...]. *Gorham in Psalms.* xiv, xv. Pemb.

Original binding: not flat-backed, but seems to come from Bury. Not in Wren.

126. G. [25 ?]. *Compilatio super moralia Gregorii super Job.* xiii, xiv. Ipswich Museum No. 6.

Small folio.

Contents 1. *Epistola Cirilli ad Augustinum de uisione penarum purgatorii et inferni et de gaudio paradisi.*

Epistola Augustini ad Cirillum de laude et transitu beati Jeronimi.

ff. 49—54 of a xvth cent. MS.

2. *Compilatio super moralia Gregorii super Job.*

ff. 25—75 of a xiiith cent. MS.

Explicit liber qui dicitur *Flos rami excerptus a quodam moderno de moralibus b. Gregorii super librum b. Job.*

3. *Sermo fratris Ric. Fishakel.*

Destructiones de vii peccatis mortalibus.

ff. 76—80 of the same volume, in other hands.

4. *Compilatio de moralibus Gregorii super Ezechielem.*

In the hand of no. 2. ff. 81—88.

5. *Libellus qui dicitur Paratum.*

A commentary on the Parable of the Marriage Supper by a "G." or "W." Canonicus: dedicated to his colleagues G. and W. ff. 88 b—122.

6. *Fretelli archidiaconi antiocheni descriptio regni Israel ad R. (Rodicum) comitem Toletanum ff. 122 b—124 a.* Hebron—Caesarea.

Explicit

Scripto completo consul Rodice ualeto
 Quod tibi presentat, genuit quem pontica tellus
 Archidiaconus Antiochenus Rorgo Fretellus
 Terrarum letam petit hec descriptio metam.

List of Patriarchs of Jerusalem: from Jacobus frater Domini to Ibelinus or Ibelitius Archiep. Arelatensis and Arnulphus Archidiac. Jerusalem.

List of *Episcopi sub Romano pontifice constituti*, beginning with those of Italy, ff. 122 b—125 a.

In Anglia.

Metropolis Cantuariens. Londoniens. Rofens. Cicestrens. Exoniens. Wintoniens. Bathoniens. Wigorniens. Herfordens. Conuentrens. Lincolniens. Norwicens. Elyens. Meneuens. Landauens. de S. Asaph.

Metropolis Eboracens. Dunelmens. Cardocens.

In Scotia (i. Suecia).

Metr. Vbsalen. Agurien. Straganen. Langacopen. Scaren. <*In Scotia.*> Sancti Andree. Glascuens. Candide case. Dunchelden. Dumblanien. Brechinien. Aberdonen. Muren(or ri)en. Rosmarchinen. Catanen. de Argatell.

Ends with Syria, f. 125 a.

Forma dationis pallii. Forma iuramenti. Qui episcopi uisitant papam. Professio domini pape de fide catholica in singulis conciliis coram omnibus ultima die concilii.

7. Table to the preceding and following works.

Six columns on a page.

125 b—127 b.

8. *Libellus excerptus ab ethimologiis Rabani, dictus Palmapenne:* quia, sicut palma, ramos emittit fructuosos penna protractos, et a Warnerio Gregoriano.

128 a—177 a: ff. 177 b, 178 blank.

9. *Distinctiones super psalterium secundum Petrum Pictauensem cancellarium Parisiensem et secundum alios quosdam.*

179 a—201 a: f. 201 b blank. Nos 2—9 are quires vii—xxv of one volume.

10. Six leaves of different vellum, not numbered.

Acrostics (seven) on the name Edmundus.

Various verses.

Narraciones Petri Andefunsi (=Alphonsi) abbreviate.

Two proverbs of King Alfred in English.

Sermons.

French rhymes on bad monks.

Fumores Mag. W. le transcendent.

Sermons.

De nacione Pilati et Iude, imperf. at end.

See appendix.

Given by W. Smart: modern binding.

Collation: a⁶ vi⁸ vii⁸⁺¹ viii⁸—xvii⁸ xviii⁶ xix⁸—xxii⁸ xxiii²⁸ (so) xxiv¹⁸
xxv⁸ (wants 8) b⁶.

H.

127. H. 1. Haýmo super Esaiam. xii. 8. M. Egerton 2782.

ff. 125 in double columns: white skin over boards.

Haýmo super ysaiam de refectorio monachorum sancti Edmundi. Purchased in 1893 from Mr Goshawk of Harrow: formerly the property of a Town Clerk of Lynn. *Cat. Vet.* xxcv.

128. H. 19. Hugo de S. Victore super Ecclesiasten.

xii, xiii. Pemb.

Double columns: original binding: chain-mark at bottom of *last* cover. Wren 20. James 74.

129. H. 31. Duo libri uersificati ex operibus Hugonis.

xii (?). Gonv. et Cai. 145 (95).

8vo. size: double columns: signatures of quires in thick Roman figures: original binding: well written. James 178.

130. H. 32. Duo libri uersificati collecti ex operibus Hugonis.

xiii (?) Pemb.

In an odd hand: original binding: strap and pin: chain-mark at top of front cover: rounded boards. Wren 45. James 176.

131. H. 55. Historia aurea Joh. de Tinmouth (Timworth), etc. 1377 and later. Bodl. 240.

Stamped leather binding: see *Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey*, i. p. lxv.

The main contents are the Historia aurea of John de Timworth, intercalated with a mass of miracles of S. Edmund, of which a good many have been printed by Mr T. Arnold in the *Memorials of S. Edmund's Abbey*. The following notes are the result of a cursory examination of the volume:

p. 598. On S. Antony.

In legenda nocturnali de babewelle non scribitur plus de eo et continet lectiones sex pro primo et duo nocturno.

At Babwell was the site of the Franciscan convent of Bury.

p. 605. Miracles of S. Benedict.

Cuius originalis scribitur ad plenum apud monasterium Ramess. et S. Benedictum de Hulmo.

p. 621. See under S. 146.

p. 622. De S. Mildreda vel miltitude secundum legendam thef. (i.e. Thetfordiae(?)).

p. 624. A mandate of Will. de Claxton, prior of Norwich, to observe the Translation of S. Edmund: originale istius est ad feretrum in cistula cum literis indulgentiarum et bullis.

The miracles of S. Edmund are interrupted on p. 648 by extracts from Amalarius and Durandus and the *Revelatio quam dedit dominus Esdre* on the method of auguring the year from the weather on New Year's Day.

pp. 661—667. Incipiunt miracula excerpta de paruo quodam antiquo quaterno ad feretrum.

p. 672. xvii miracula apud Wainflete anno 1372 et 1375.

p. 674. Incipiunt miracula facta in capella S. Edmundi de Lynge (Lynn).

p. 677. Fall of the central tower.

Then follow the Rule of S. Benedict (extracts), life of S. Honoratus, of S. Sithe (Zita, not Osyth).

p. 708. Compendium uite S. Christine uirginis cognomine mirabilis cuius uita originalis est apud London. inter monachos cartusie.

Life of S. Lithgard: at end: sicut patet in uita eius originali inter monachos Cartusie apud Londonias.

Lives of SS. Elizabeth and Oportuna.

I strongly suspect, from the acquaintance with the libraries shown by these notes, that Boston of Bury had to do with the compilation of this remarkable volume.

132. H. 56. Hugo de S. Victore de institutione nouitiorum.

xii(?). S. John's Coll. Camb. G. 2.

Ordinarium siue dietarium uite religiose.

Forma uite regularis.

Formula nouitiorum.

Index alphabetice.

Index per capita.

On margin of last leaf, in a hand of cent. xv.

ffrater h. de k. (Henr. de Kirkeestede) soluit pro scriptura istius libri viii. vid. pro pergamo iis. viijd. pro ligacione viijd. summa xia. xd.

Given by Jer. Holt,

133. [H. ...]. *Horologium sapientiae.* xiv, xv. Pemb.

Original binding: pink skin over boards: strap and pin: no chain-mark: most likely from Bury.

134. H. 8. *Actus et Apocalypsis glosati.* xiii, xiv. Pemb.

The mark is in Gothic letter: original binding: two clasps. At end is a note of the provenance erased. I am very doubtful if this volume is from Bury.

J.

135. J. 3. *Breuiarium Ieronimi super quosdam Psalmos.*

ix, x. Pemb.

A fine book: rebound: at the end are verses on the names of months, Cydyneos etc.: also three extracts of a moral nature: and a leaf of the Martyrium Bartholomaei. *Est in india quaedam ciuitas; ending Igitur sacerdotes.* Not in Wren. James 191.

136. J. 6. *Ieronimus in Esaiam a libro viii^o ad finem.*

ix (?). Pemb.

In double columns: in quires of eight leaves marked with letters and numerals. Wren 56. James 187.

137. J. 10. *Ieronimus in vi Prophetas etc.*

xii (early). Bodl. e Mus. 26.

Itinerarium (Theophili) ad paradisum terrestrem, in a hand of cent. xii, xiii, occupies the last eight pages. Doubtless the archetype of the text of this tract in J. 90. The first page of the volume is stained: the writing good.

138. J. 13. *Ieronimus in Matthaeum.* xii. Bodl. e Mus.

Anselmus de libero arbitrio, etc. 112.

ff. 168: there is a good initial: original binding.

139. J. 20. *Epistolae Ieronimi, etc.* xii—xiv. Pemb.

Lapidarium Gallice.

Wren 52. James 210.

140. J. 28. *Iohannis Chrysostomi opus imperfectum in Matthaeum.* xii. Pemb.

Idem super epistolam ad Hebraeos.

Eiusdem tractatus de nocturnis uigiliis et horis diurnis.

This last in a later hand. At the end of the Opus Imperfectum (f. 43) is the Librarian's note: *hic deficiunt ut credo quatuor quaterni ut paret* in 9° libro ad sig^m. Original binding: chain-clasp at bottom of front cover. Wren 22. James 199.

141. J. 32. Iohannis Chrysostomi opus imperfectum in Matth. xv. Pemb.

Pink skin over boards: chain-clasp at bottom of front cover. Not in Wren. James 195.

142. J. 40. Iohannis de Albauilla Omelie de Epistolis et Euangeliis in dominicis. xiii (early). B. M. Royal 2. E. ix.

ff. 250 in double columns. Hunc librum fecit scribi Guido precentor, quem qui alienauerit a domo S. Edmundi anathema sit.

143. J. 57. Iohannis Damasceni Sententiae. xv. Pemb. Augustinus de mirabilibus S. Scripturae. de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, etc.

At end the Visio Taionis concerning the Moralia of Gregory.

Original binding: chain-mark at bottom of front cover: has had a leaf of an old service-book inside the cover. Wren 57. James 208.

144. J. 90. Imago mundi. xiii—xiv. Corp. Chr. Camb. lxvi. Itinerarium Theophili, etc.

Consists of f. 117—end of the volume. The first part belonged to Salley. Part of the volume Ff. 1. 27 given by Abp. Parker to the University Library belonged originally to this book: it ends with the unique copy of the tract of Galfridus de Fontibus on the Infancy of S. Edmund. Mr Bradshaw noted that this portion of the book came from Bury.

145. J. Ieronimus contra Iouinianum. xii, xiii. Pemb. Eiusdem epistolae.

Fly-leaves gone: original binding: two clasps: title on outside. Probably from Bury.

146. J. Innocentius de contemptu mundi. xiii. Pemb. Magister Hugo de soliloquo.

Item excerpta quedam de moralibus cum quibusdam aliis contentis.

In double columns: the first two items are gone: at the end is:

Le exposiciun meistre adam de Eccestre sur la pater noster: in French. Early xiii.

De le assumpciun nostre dame ke fu reuelee a vne nonein. Occupying three leaves.

Original binding. Not in Wren.

147. J. ... Postilla Januensis. xv. Pemb.
Tabula eiusdem super S. Scripturam.

Original binding: two clasps: title formerly nailed on the side. Very likely from Bury. Not in Wren.

148. [J....]. Iuuenalis et Persius. xii and xiii. Pemb.

A small narrow book: the Juvenal has marginal notes: the Persius is in another hand. At the end of the Juvenal is a French song with music, beginning *El tens diuer quant uei palir lerbe pur la freidure*. Most likely from Bury. *Cat. Vet.* xv.

L.

149. L. 16. Mediauilla super iv Sentent. xv. Pemb.

The title written in the hand of the Librarian: in double columns. James 111.

150. L. 393. Leges Langobardorum. xii. Bodl. Laud
Misc. 742.

At the end, four leaves of Proverbs or Ecclesiasticus cent. xii.: ff. 189 well written, with plain initials. On the fly-leaf is: *Vendidit Thomas Egesley. 24 Feb. 1632: also a minute sketch of a magician in flat cap and gown with wand addressing a black demon inside a double circle: by it is written 'coniuro te asdrubal drogo per melek albumasaris.'*

151. L. ... Pars Hugonis super decreta, etc.
xiii, xiv. Pemb.

Quaternus S. Edmundi in quo continetur pars Hugonis super decreta cum aliis et quedam brocardica et casus super 4^{thm} codicis. Lettered as L. without numeral: partly in an Italian hand. Bound with B. 101. Wren 76.

M.

152. M. 11. Mariale. xiv (late). Ipswich Museum No. 4.

Vellum, folio, 2 cols. of 44 lines each, ff. 133. Collation: i—ix¹² x¹⁰ xi¹² xii²⁺¹. On p. 1 *Mariale S. Edmundi per I(oannem) Abbatem M. xi.* The Prologue begins: *Exordium Salutis nostre dicit b. fratres*

karissimi. The text, entirely devotional and without miracles, is in cli
Rubricae. The author must be J. Tymworth. The colophon is:

Est scriptus liber: sribens sit criminē liber
Scriptum sepe legat ut sic cum uirgine degat.

153. M. 12. *Meditationes deuotissimae.*

xiv. B. M. Royal 8 E. x.

ff. 117. On paper: 'assit principio sancta Maria meo': 'Liber mo-
nachorum S. Edmundi emptus per d. Johannem de Brinkele Abbatem
in quaternis et per fratrem Robertum de Beccles colligatus.' Scribbles
at the end: one begins 'Adam bernardus clemens dionisius ennok.'

154. M. 21. *Marii libri ii de elementis.* xii, xiii. B. M.

Anon. (Nemesius) de eisdem. Galba E. iv.

Liber de Aere et aquis.

(Nemesius *περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως*) *Liber dictus*
Prenon phisicon.

Dialogus Adelardi Bathoniensis.

Liber phisiognomiae secundum tres auctores,

Loxum medicum, Aristotilem philosophum
et Palemonem declamatorem.

Liber de spermate.

Sorani institutio artis medicinalis ad filium
suum (imperfect at the end).

Bound after a book of documents, inventories and Library Catalogue
of Christ Church, Canterbury. The Bury portion is on f. 187 to f. 244.
Well written, in double columns, with good initials. f. 187 a. *Liber*
monachorum S. Edmundi in quo continentur libri xxiiij de medicina
et de herbis pign... Very likely this is one of Stephen's books (see p. 8).

155. M. 23. *Ieronimus in Ecclesiasten* xii. Bodl. 582.
et quedam exceptiones in *Theologia.* f. 52 b.

These begin: *Sexto die formatur homo in genesi.*

Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum. f. 59.

e.g. *Vrihel lux uel ignis dei*

Michael qui ut deus siue potestas dei

Gabriel fortitudo dei

Raphael medicina dei

Azael uisus deo.

De uariis uocabulis (Alleluia—Fimbria). f. 61 b.

ff. 62 + 4: original binding: title in red outside. This book is placed in class M seemingly because it begins with the words *Memini me* and has a conspicuous initial M.

156. M. 27. *Ysagoge Ioannicii.* xii. S. James's Library
Liber pronosticorum ypocratis. f. 14. at Bury.
Liber afforismorum ypocratis. f. 22 b.
Liber urinarum a uoce theophili. f. 38.
Liber philareti de pulsibus. f. 49.
 Item tractatus...qui incipit *Omnis etas hominis.* f. 53.
 Miscellaneous extracts and 'distinctiones.' f. 55 b.
Alexander Necham de utensilibus. f. 104.
Germanus on the astrolabe. xi, xii. ff. 120—
 123: begins: 'Germanus Christi pauperum
 peripsima.'

In many hands: the medical tracts in a Lombardic hand, occupying 52 leaves. Bound with B. 357.

157. M. 83. *Ars memorandi* etc. xiv and xiii. B. M. Royal
 12 C. vi.

A small book of 81 ff.

158. M. 93. *Summa Iohannis de Rupella de Malo.*
 xiii, xiv. Pemb.

In double columns in a large foreign (?) hand: original binding: chain-mark at top of front cover. At the end an entry of a 'cautio' which I cannot decipher. Wren 12. James 78.

159. M. ... *Mariale Alberti.* xiv, xv. Pemb.
Liber Ratramni de eo quod Christus natus est
de uirgine per naturalem corporis partem.

The first leaf gone: in double columns: rebound. Wren 8. James 80.

160. [M. ...] *Medical Tracts.* xiii. King's Coll. Camb.
 MS. 21.

Olim M. Rogeri Marchall. This man was the owner of several MSS. at Caius which resemble Bury books.

Six volumes in one: 1272—1327 *circa* (H. B.). Sixteen leaves are lost at the beginning, which may account for the absence of a mark.

1. *Summa Mag. G. Agilani de urinis.*
2. *Fleobotomia mauri.*

3. Tractatus de diebus creticis.
4. Liber urinarum Mag. Mathei.
5. Practica Archimathae Salernitani.
6. Flores dietarum Mag. Johannis de S. Paulo.
7. Tract. de fleobotomia.
8. Liber urinarum Mag. Ricardi.
9. Signa pronostica Rosis.
10. Galterus de dosi medicinarum.
11. Egidius de urinis cum commento Gilberti.
12. Egidius de pulsibus cum commento.
13. Tractatus de urinis secundum Constantimum Africanum.
14. Theophilus de urinis.
15. Ypocrates de regimenteris acutorum.
16. Tractatus de phisionomia.
17. Liber diffinitionum.
18. Liber elementorum.
19. Liber febrium.
20. Liber dietarum particularium.
21. Liber dietarum universalium.

} Ysaac.

Constat M. hawar^d (over
erasure).

A more detailed table is on p. 135. The table given above is repeated at the end in the same hand, and after it is 'Constat M. Rogero Marchall.' There are ten fly-leaves from an astrological book in a hand like that of the Bury Necham. B. 357. On 129 and 444 *b* are good drawings (xiii) of doctor and patient.

161. Medical Receipts.

xvi. B. M. Harl. 4349.

In various hands, pp. 510 numbered. On f. ix. is: T. Nonne, Ex dono prudentissime atque peritissime femine Domine Susanne Fontainblew. This booke was written by Donatus Antonius the younger, in the yeare of our Lord Christ one thousand five hundred and tenn, in which yeare he was Pryor of the Great Abbey or Monastery of Bury St Edmond's in Suff.

N.

162. N.... (or A ?) Necham de utensilibus etc.

xiii, xiv. Gonv. and Cai. 136 (76).

Speculum scholarium at end.

The Necham and the Speculum seem to me to be in the same writing as is the Bury Necham in M. 27. Several of the tracts are prefaced by 'assit principio Sancta Maria meo.'

O.

163. O. 2. *Origenes in Vetus Testamentum.* xiii. Pemb.
Innocentius de officio Missae.
Ioh. Damascenus de orthodoxa fide (in another
 hand).

Hunc librum fecit scribi Guido precentor. Original binding: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. At the end of the book is a pencil note of the dimensions of a Church (probably the Abbey Church at Bury) in ulnae, but unluckily all the numbers are rubbed out. Wren 38. James 189.

164. O. 4. *Octo Omelie Origenis in Iudicum, etc.*
 xii. Pemb.

Original binding: chain-mark at bottom of front cover. At the end is a pencil sketch of a bearded man holding a bottle (?): also an Antiphon with music 'Igitur ioseph ductus est in egyptum.' Wren 31. James 192.

165. O. 28. *Cilium Oculi Sacerdotis, etc.*
 xiv. B. M. Harl. 4968.

Liber monachorum S. Edmundi de empacione J. Tymworth abbatis.

166. O. 52. *Omeliae de tempore.* x, xi. Pemb.
 (From Easter to Advent.)

By Jeron., Aug., Greg., Bede, Origen, Chrysostom, Maximus, Leo. In 38 quires of 8 leaves: quires i—xxxvi numbered. Wren 4. James 87.

167. O. 54. *Omeliae de sanctis.* x, xi. Pemb.
 (From Easter to S. Andrew.)

In the same hand as the last: includes homilies of Aug., Jer., Bede, Greg., Rabanus, Maximus, Leo, Fulbert, Fulgentius, Haymo: also Passions of Apostles, e.g. Assumptio Philippi, Martyrium Jacobi, Mileti assumptio Johannis. In 48 quires of 8 leaves. Wren 7. James 77.

168. O. 55. *Omeliae XCV.* x, xi. Pemb.
 (From Advent to S. Andrew.)

Formerly contained also: Rabanus de officio Missae and
Alani Porrei de arte praedicandi.

It ends with a tract on the office of cantor. There are 180 leaves. On f. 1 *a* is this chronological note in a large hand (not that of the text).

Ab origine uero mundi secundum ebraicam ueritatem v. c^o v^oi.
 Anno uerbi incarnati m^o. c^o. l^oiiii.
 Passionis uero ipsius m^o. c^o. xx^o.
 A passione sancti eadmundi cc^o. l^oxxx^oiiii.
 A translatione ipeius lx^o.
 | Capte anglie lxxxv^oiiii.
 Regnauit Willelmus rex annos xxi.
 Willelmus secundus annos xiii.
 Henricus rex annos xxxv.
 Stephanus rex annos x^ov^oiiii.

Followed by a deed of 'Rex s. h.' making Robert of Normandy his heir, and witnessed by Theobald of Canterbury among others. On the last leaf an obliterated note of date occupying 3½ lines. Wren 13. James 81.

169. [O. ...] Homiliae et Vitae Sanctorum Anglo-Saxonice.
 xi. B. M. Julius E. vii.

ff. 241 in a fine hand: "Liber Sancti Aedmundi regis et martiris" (f. 1 a) contains xxxvii and a fragment out of xxxviii items which are enumerated in the Index.

P.

170. P. 11. Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica.

xiii. Pemb.

A fine copy. Not in Wren. James 177.

171. P. 25. Petri Comestoris Sermones. xii, xiii. Pemb.

Libri allegoriarum.

Radulphus Niger de re militari.

Hunc librum scribi fecit Fr. Willelmus de Dice (i.e. Diss?). Anima eius et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam dei requiescant in pace. Amen. Wren 10. James 76.

172. P. 35. Petrus Pictauensis super tabernaculum Moysi.
 xiii. Pemb.

Wren 6. James 75.

173. P. 58. Petrus Lombardus in Epistolas Pauli.

xiii. S. John's Coll. Oxf. 43.

I have not seen this book.

174. P. 64. Petri Lombardi Sententiae. xiii. Pemb.
In double columns, in an Italian hand. Wren 9. James 90.

175. P. 81. Petri Lombardi Sententiarum iv. xiv. Pemb.
'Assit principio Sancta Maria meo': in double columns. Wren 50.
James 159.

176. P. 92. Petri Lombardi Sententiarum iii, iv, etc. xiv. Pemb.
Bound with T. 65 and B. 340. Wren 23. James 160.

177. P. 119. Prosper de uita contemplatiua et actiua libri iii. xii. Wisbech Museum.

Liber de refectorio monachorum S. Edmundi et legitur ad collacionem conuentus a pascha usque ad translationem S. Benedicti: post istum ponatur liber S. Odonis de uiciis uirtutibusque anime. On the fly-leaf is a long note in the Librarian's hand on Prosper's date and works and an extract from Vincent of Beauvais. Binding, white skin over boards: strap and pin fastening. Cat. Vet. cix.

178. [P. ...] Prosper de uita contempl. et act. libb. iii. xii. Wisbech Museum.

27 lines to a page: fly-leaf gone: boards, strap and pin fastening.

179. P. 123. Prudentii Psychomachia. xi. B. M. Add. 24, 199.

The 'Tenison Prudentius' copiously illustrated: see facsimiles in Westwood's *Ornaments of A. S. and Irish MSS.* The MS. was in Abp Tenison's Library which was sold in 1861. See on the subject of these illustrated copies of Prudentius a paper in *C. A. S. Proceedings*, vol. vii. by the present writer.

180. P. 163. Prophetiae Ioachim etc. xiii and xv. Corp. Chr. Camb. cccciv.

Quaternus monachorum S. Edmundi quem scripsit pro maiori parte fr. Henricus de Kirkestede. There are good xiith cent. outline illustrations to the prophecies of Joachim (the Calabrian Abbot) representing various popes and symbolical animals.

181. P. 185. Propositiones Petri Rothomagensis. xiv, xv. Pemb.
Liber de procuratione Roberti Ikelyngham quondam prioris. Written

in an Italian hand: original binding: rounded boards: two straps and pins: chain-mark at top of front cover. Wren 3. James 89.

182. P. 1000 (*sic*). Liber Poenitentialis. xiii. B. M. Royal Gregorii Dialogus. 7 E. i.

On f. 3b is the beginning of a charter in the name of William, abbot of Bury. Mr Warner suggests that this is W. de Bernham (1335-1361).

R.

183. R. 14. Radulphus Flauiacensis in Parabolas Salomonis. xii, xiii. Pemb.

In double columns: fly-leaf an unfinished leaf of Rad. Flau. in Rom. et Cor., the recto only written. At the beginning is a long note by the Librarian of cent. xv, running thus: Liber S. Edmundi regis et martiris in quo continetur expositio Radulphi Flauiacensis super parabolas Salomonis. Iste Radulphus monachus erat et abbas monasterii Flauiacensis in Burgundia et doctor theologie floruitque circa annum domini 1094 et scripsit:

Super leuiticum libros x: in librario S. Edmundi in ii pulcris et magnis uoluminibus.

Sermones et Epistolas ad diuersos.

Super Psalterium omeliae cl.

Super Ecclesiasten libros vi.

Super parabolas Salomonis libros xv. In librario S. Edmundi.

Super matheum. In librario Witham Cartusie.

Super epistolas Pauli. In monasterio de Burch.

Super apocalipsin.

De re militari *lined through*: a marginal note says: Radulphus Flauiacensis non scripsit de re militari sed alias Radulphus cognome niger.

De sex etatibus etc.

De diuersis miraculis etc.

Dialogus de abbate et monacho.

De Sanctuario quod est de S. Maria.

Hunc tamen librum ultimum quidam ascribunt sancto Hildefonso Archiepiscopo Tholetano.

This note I ascribe to Boston, from the knowledge shewn of other monastic Libraries, Witham in Somerset, Battle, and 'Burch' (i.e. Peterborough).

Wren 17. James 83.

Isti libri sunt in librario
monachorum de Bello.

184. R. 40. Roberti Melundinensis summa.

xiii. B. M. Royal 7 C. xi.

Begins with 'Pars xii' primi libri Roberti Melundinensis episcopi Herfordensis.' In double columns, well written, ending on f. 57 b, where is this note in the Librarian's hand :

Deficiunt de ista summa partes siue libri tres de fine et xi partes siue libri de principio.

Vide sumمام istam plenarie completam in armario claustrи in duobus pulcris et magnis uoluminibus.

f. 58. Allegorie Petri super Vetus Testamentum. xii, xiii, in two hands: in double columns.

f. 132. Omelie S. Bernardi super Cantica xv.

f. 166. Expositio misse: cent. xi.

Consisting of extracts from Cypr. Ambr. Aug. Hier. Greg. Fulgent. Seuerian. Vigilius Hysidorus Beda Auitus.

Heading and title in red rustic capitals: begins 'Prius igitur conuenientibus in unum.'

At the top the Librarian has written 'Item in b. 265.'

It consists of three quires of eight, numbered xx, xxi, xviiiij. Quire xviiiij contains

Expositio Symboli
 Orationis Dominice
 „
Prephatio Dominice orationis
Item expositio eiusdem orationis

ends on f. 192 a. Pauca sunt quidem uerba ut supra in quinto folio (i.e. the fifth folio of the quire).

Followed by three hymns: (1) O nata lux de lumine iusu redemptor seculi. (2) f. 192 b (O) sator rerum reparator eui christe rex regum metuende censor. (3) (D)eus manens primordium simulque finis omnium.

At the beginning of the volume a chronological slip is inserted, written in a small hand of cent. xii. The last date given is: 'ab aduentu normannorum in angliam cxxi,' i.e. 1187.

185. R. 42. Roberti Lincolnensis Summa. xiii, xiv. B. M.

Eiusdem Templum Domini. Royal 8 C. iv.

Miracula B. V. Mariae.

The last in rhyming verse, attributed to Joh. de Garlandia, with gloss: and other tracts, in many hands: including *Prophecie Ioachim.* ff. 210, see *Cat. of Romances*, ii. 699.

On f. 157 in a hand of cent. xiv is :

Iste liber pertinet ad cenobium S. Edmundi et traditus fuit Ade de Hakeford per dominum Johannem de Waxingam monachum.

186. R. 54. Robertus Krikeladensis in Ezechielem.

xiii. Pemb.

In double columns: chain-mark at bottom of *last* cover. Wren 1. James 91.

187. R. 70. Regula S. Benedicti. x. Corp. Chr. Oxon. 197.

In Latin and Anglo-Saxon. Given by William Fulman (d. 1688). The press-mark was kindly furnished to me by the President, and I have since (May, 1894) had an opportunity of examining the volume. On the first page is: *Liber sancti Eadmund Regis et martiris.* There is a chain-mark on the middle of the lower margin of f. 1. The hand is fine. For some notes extracted from it see pp. 5, 6.

188. R. ... Reductorium morale. xv. Pemb.

'De empacione fratris Johannis Ganedeys (? Cranewys) quondam sacriste: precium vj marc.'

In xxii books: f. 1 of the text gone: in double columns. Not in Wren. James 114.

S.

189. S. 1. Sallustius. xi, xii. Pemb.

Narrow upright book: see Leland, no. 16. Not in Wren.

190. S. 2. Collecta Samuelis presbyteri ex speculo Gregorii. xiii. Pemb.

In verse, with gloss: cf. B. 233: original binding, with title(?) on cover: chain-clasp at top of front cover. Wren 40. James 209.

191. S. 26. Summa de uitiis. xiv, xv. S. John's Coll. Camb. F. 1.

Quaternus monachorum S. Edmundi in quo continetur (Gul. Peraldi) *Summa de uiciis optima et integra*: closely written. Fly-leaf from an account-roll for caretarius and frumentarius: at end 'Pertinet domino Roberto Ypswych monacho.' Given by Jer. Holt.

192. S. 38. Sermones Gorham. xiv. Pemb.

Contains: *Distinctiones Nic. de Gorham*, and *Sermones de Dominicis et Festis: de empacione domini Edmundi de Wirlingworthe.* Index in the Librarian's hand: text in double columns: chain-mark at top of front cover. Wren 16. James 84.

193. S. 55. Sermones. xiv, xv and xiii. B. M. Royal 12
F. xv.

Two volumes bound in one: press-mark on the fly-leaf and in part ii.

194. S. 57. Distinctiones. xii, xiii. Pemb.
Sermones et exempla.

In at least three hands: on the last quire is 'sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia': original binding. Not in Wren. James 228?

195. S. 62. Sermones. ??

Formerly bound with .U. in Camb. Univ. Libr. Ii. 6. 5: now gone.

196. S. 65. Compilatio sermonum Petri Comestoris.
Distinctiones, etc. xiii. Pemb.

In many hands: on f. 264 is some French: the last item is Interpretatio nominum hebraicorum. Not in Wren. James 223.

197. S. 68. Distinctiones pro sermonibus Thren. Eccl. Apoc.
xiv, xv. Pemb.

Bound with no. 98. Not in Wren. James 222.

198. S. 71. Petrus Ludunensis (*sic*) super Epistolas.
Sermones. xiv. Pemb.

In an Italian hand(?): original binding, red skin on boards: mark S. AI on last cover. Wren 5.

199. S. 146. (possibly the Sanctilogium, see no. 210).

In H. 55 (MS. Bodl. 240) at the end of the life of SS. Kineburga and Kineswitha (p. 621) is this sentence:

uide miracula istarum uirginum in legenda de sanctis anglie apud sanctum Edmundum in volumine S. 146.

200. [S. ...]. Abbonis Floriacensis Vita S. Eadmundi.
xii, xiii. Bodl. Digby 109.

Officium de S. Eadmando, cum notis musicis.

There is no mark in this volume, which is in a fine clear hand; but if we may judge from the elaborate fulness with which the Office is given, it can hardly have been used elsewhere than in S. Edmund's Abbey.

It has been drawn upon largely in a recent life of S. Edmund by Father Mackinlay O.S.B.

201. S. 153. Abbonis Floriacensis Vita et Passio S. Edmundi.
 xiii. B. M. Titus A. viii.
 Osberti de Clare Miracula S. Edmundi.

Forms ff. 65—145 of the volume: well written, 23 lines to the page; the name *Aedmundus* in red. On f. 65 *a* is *Liber monachorum S. Edmundi* in red. There are marginal notes in the Librarian's hand: on 145 *a* "hic deficit miraculum factum per S. Edmundum in henricum de Exsexia s e... (cut off) innumerabilia": on 145 *b* in a large hand (xv) "per Willm heyhom (or heyhorn): amen."

202. S. 155. Abbonis Floriacensis Vita et Passio S. Edmundi.
 xi. B. M. Tiberius B. ii.
 Hermanni Miracula S. Edmundi.

ff. 1—83 of the volume. ff. 84 to the end contain Ely documents (xiv). In a fine hand, 20 lines to a page: on f. 1 *a* *Liber feretraliorum S. Edmundi in quo continentur uita passio et miracula S. Edmundi*. Item uite et passiones *xxxiii sanctorum in anglis*.

On f. 83 *b* in lower margin in the Librarian's hand: "deficiunt hic vi miracula que sunt in libro domini Johannis de T (?) prioris."

203. S. 184. Narracio de libro Suda, etc.
 xiv and xi. B. M. Royal 8 B. i.

Contains Versus de laude crucis. xii, xiii.
 de tractatu qui incipit Vicit Adam.
 hildeberti de Missa.

Liber qui appellatur Alexandreydes.

Narracio de libro qui uocatur Suda. xiv.

(This is Grosseteste's translation of the article on Jesus in Suidas.)

Tract. de iv peccatis mortaliibus.
 de penitentia et confessione.

Narraciones et exempla.

Lincolniensis 'Templum dei.'

Penitentie in canonibus diffinita. xi, xii.

Boecius de consol. philos.: media pars deficit et plus.

Quaternus monachorum S. Edmundi de procuratione fratris Henrici de Kirkestede.

The Librarian gives on the fly-leaf the contents of the 71 chapters of the book 'Suda.' The volume is a small one of 112 ff.

204. S. ... Sermones de x mandatis. xv. S. John's Coll.
de vii peccatis. Camb. G. 13.

Double columns: fly-leaves gone: in brown skin on boards: "Thys ys master chamberer's booke" (xvi): among authorities quoted in the margin is 'Walterus hylton.' The second item is headed 'Assit principio,' etc.

205. S. ... Quodlibeta doctoris subtilis (Scoti).
xv. S. John's Coll. Camb. F. 12.

'De empacione dompni Willelmi ffreknham monachi S. Edmundi Regis et martiris.' This owner's name, with 'scolaris' attached, is often repeated.

206. [? S. ...] Sermones. xii, xiii. Pemb.
Tractatus incipiens Salomon tria edidit.
Augustinus de conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum.
Bernardus de sex alis.

With a full-page picture of a Cherub. There is some French also in the volume. Extracts (of cent. xii) on the end of the world, etc.

Sermons, on the Gospels, dedicated to Willelmus Latisaquensis ecclesie dispensator fidelissimus.

It is a small book, in the original binding, and most probably from Bury. Not in Wren.

207. [S. ...] Liber de sacramentis. xii, xiii. Pemb.
Prouerbia senece.
Somniarium Danielis.
Corrogationes promethei.

At the end two leaves of a shortened Visio Pauli beginning 'Interrogandum est.' Fly-leaf of a service-book with neumes of cent. x, xi. Most probably from Bury. Not in Wren.

208. [S. 78] Sermones in Evangelia.
xiii. Bp Cosin's Library, Durham V. v. 3.

Inc. Simile est Regnum Caelorum homini qui semen bonum seminaverat in agro bono ubi nota quod inter omnia officia Parochica nobilissimum officium est Evangelizare regnum Dei.

At the beginning: Quaternus Monachorum S. Edmundi de dono Domini Roberti de Rokeswell.

209. [S. ...] Sermones. xv. Ipswich Museum, No. 5.

Paper, 4to, ff. 200, 34 lines to a page: one leaf of vellum in Part II. Quires mostly of 12 leaves: given by Smart. Imperfect at each end.

1. Sermones (a collection called *Pabulum uite*). *Inc.* Cum homo sit nobilis creatura. In chapters alphabetically arranged. The first that remains is the 42nd *De Gloria*. A table which follows shows that the work began with *De abstinentia* and ended with *De uita eterna*: this last remains, followed by a table of Sundays, feriae and feasts, with corresponding chapters of the *Pabulum*.

2. Ianuensis in opere quatragesimali. Imperfect at end: ends in the sermon *In die pasche*.

[210. [S. ...] Sanctilogium Joh. de Timworth.

xiv, xv. B. M. Cotton Tib. E. i.

Folio: bound in two volumes, and inlaid, having been 'burnt to a crust' in the unhappy fire of 1731. In double columns of 44 lines each: in this respect, and also in regard of the handwriting and ornament, of which last a few traces survive, it exactly matches another of John of Timworth's books (M. 11) the *Mariale* now at Ipswich. This is his most famous work: I believe that his name has been wrongly written for two centuries at least, and that he came not from Tinmouth but from Timworth, a small village about four miles N. E. of Bury. Cf. O. 28.

The early leaves of the Sanctilogium are so much damaged that no mark survives. Collects for the various Saints have been added by a later hand in the lower margin. Ussher speaks of this copy of the Sanctilogium as if it had belonged to Redburn; in the *Brit. Ecol. Antiq.* 1. p. 201 (ed. Elrington) he says: sequens haec ἐπιγραφὴ Iohannis Timuthensis sanctilogio Britanniae in MS. Cottoniano praefixa: "Hunc librum dedit dominus Thomas de la Mare, abbas monasterii S. Albani Anglorum protomartyris, Deo et ecclesiae B. Amphibali de Redburne; ut fratres ibidem in cursu existentes per eius lecturam poterint coelestibus instrui, et per sanctorum exempla uirtutibus insigniri."

Boston (ap. Tanner) writes Tynmuithe, and says nothing of him as Abbot of Bury: but he also omits Samson and Jocelin de Brakelond.]

T.

211. T. 1. Thomas in Sententiarum i, ii. xv. Pemb.

Petrus de aylesham monachus legauit communi armariolo ecclesie memorate (S. Edmundi). Wren 21.

212. [? T. 3]. Thomas in Sent. iv. xv. Pemb.

Ioh. Damasceni sententiae.

Augustinus de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.

Augustini lxxxiii quaestiones.

Aug... de mirabilibus S. Scripturae.

First leaf gone: but 'Petrus de aylesham legauit.' Wren 21, James 185 (?).

213. T. 10. Thomae 1^{ma} pars 2^{dae} partis. xiv. Pemb.
Not in Wren.

214. T. 12. Thomas contra Gentiles. xiv, xv. Pemb.
W. de lacford procurauit communi armario ecclesie S. Edmundi.
Wren 27.

215. T. 16. Thomas Alker (i.e. Alquin) in Joh. et Marc.
xiv. Pemb.
Stephanus de Haslingfeld legauit conuentui eiusdem loci (S. Edmundi).
Wren 33. James 146.

216. T. 25. Tabula Kilwardby super originalia Ambr. Aug.
Boec. Anselm. xiv. Pemb.
Wren 24. James 227.

217. T. 26. Tabula de concordantiis quorundam originalium,
Aug. Ans. Bern. et aliorum. xiv. Pemb.
De empacione domini galfridi de Hemlingtone (? Hemingtonstone) quondam
prioris de S. Edmundo. In an Italian hand (?). Wren 49. James 225.

218. T. 47. Tabulae Martini Margarita decretalium.
xiv. Pemb.
De dono J(oh.) de B(rinkley) Abbatis: in an Italian hand: chain-mark
at top of front cover. Wren 37. James 226.

219. T. 65. Tabula super libros S. Thomae.
xiv, xv. Pemb.
Bound with P. 92, B. 340. Original binding: chain-mark at top of
front cover. At the end of T. 65 is hic liber est fratris Nicholai
de dendra...ordinis predicatorum in cieclo inferiori. Wren 23. James
169.

220. [T.]. Thomae Summa prima primae. xv. Pemb.
First leaf gone: in the same hand as T. 1 (?). Not in Wren. James
93. There are in all twelve volumes of Thomas in this Library, of which
four certainly are from Bury, one probably, and two more possibly.

U.

221. U. (no number). Uiaticum Constantini.
xiv, xv. Camb. Univ. Libr. II. 6. 5.
Formerly had S. 62 bound with it: the titles of both volumes are on
the fly-leaf.

V.

222. V. 1. Valerius Maximus. xii. Pemb.

Liber de claustro S. Edmundi pro sermonibus in quo continetur Valerius Maximus de factis et dictis memorabilibus antiquorum.

De armario claustris S. Edmundi pro sermonibus ad populum (i.e. to be used as a source for anecdotes in sermons). Iste liber constat Domino Willelmo Bury monacho et professo in monasterio S. Edmundi (several times repeated). In a rough hand, in double column. Wren 44. James 214.

223. V. 3. Caelestium et terrestrium quorum in scriptura fit mentio moralizacio incerti (xvith cent. title).

xiii. B. M. Royal 7 E. v.

In xvi books. (1) de celestibus, (2) de uolatilibus, (3) de reptilibus, (4) de homine, (5) de eius partibus, (6) de terra et eius partibus, (7) de aquis, (8) de metallis, (9) de lignis, (10) de petra, (11) de igne et eius partibus, (12) de luce, (13) de ciuitate et eius partibus, (14) de herbis, (15) de numeris, (16) de uasis.

Incipit: In scriptura sacra aliquando nuncupatiue aliquando uero essentialiter.

On f. 140 is a table with verses inserted: xiv, xv. On f. 1 hunc librum scribi fecit Willelmus de Dice seruus et monachus S. Edmundi ad honorem S. Edmundi. At the end: four letters (3 of Pope Gregory, and one of his chaplain Stephen) concerning the election of Abbot Richard de Insula (1229—1234).

224. V. 12. Miscellanea. xiii. Gonv. et Cai. 225 (240).

A xvth century table of contents gives 28 items, of which only 17 are in the MS.

No. 1 in the table is

Secunda pars W. de Conches.

The lost items are

Methodius (de initio et fine seculi).

Versus. Qui non noscuntur.

Leges anglorum tempore regis Henrici 2nd.

Liber adelfonsi.

Valerius ad Rufinum (de non ducenda uxore).

Excerpta terentij in andria in eunucho et phormione.

Alphabetum grecorum.

Oratio dominica et simbolum in greco et latino.

Excerpta de libris senece, vegeciij.

Josephi antiquitatum et de bello iudaico.

Plauti, *in principio libri*. (Extant on f. 1.)

Josephus de secta quadam (?) monastica in ueteri lege.

Probably classed under V as Varia.

225. V. 18. Summa de Virtutibus, etc. xiv. B. M. Royal
11. B. iii.

ff. 361. On col. 673—4 is *Visio Pauli*

Interrogandum est quis primus petiuisset ut anime haberent
requiem in inferno.

ff. 359—361 French verse. At top of f. 360b is

Frater martinus me scripsit, cui Christus sit propicius. Amen.

Belonged to John Lord Lumley.

Cat. of Romances, ii. 128, 485.

226. V. ... Virgilius. xi, xii. Pemb.

Not unlike the Sallust and Juvenal: has a xvth cent. table and erased
note of price. Most probably from Bury. James 120.

Y.

227. Y. 12. Ysidorus contra Iudaeos. xii, xiii. Pemb.

Bernardus de gradibus humilitatis.

Ricardi Summa. xiii, xiv.

Narrationes. xiii.

IVth Sententiarum. xiii, xiv.

Chain-mark at bottom of front cover. Fly-leaves from a law book in
Norman French. Wren 42. James 218.

228. Y. 27. Yuo de sacramentis xii. S. John's Coll. Camb.
and other tracts of Yvo. D. 19.

On f. 2a Baldewinus prior fecit fieri hunc librum. Si quis eum ab
ecclesia Sancti Edmundi abstulerit excommunicatus est.

On f. 3a a good initial Q: a human bust between two foxes on the
backs of two birds, and a dragon.

In single lines, 21 to a page. Some notes on the last page. Given by
Jer. Holt.

229. Y. 28. Isidori Etymologiae.

xii, xiii. Bp Cosin's Library, Durham, V. iii. 20.
Table, or *Dictionarium Biblicum*.

On the fly-leaves are various scribbles, and the names of Richard James, John James, Rich. Richard, William Atkynson. On f. 51 b, in a hand of cent. xv, is the following very important inscription :

Ysidorus ethimologiarum de procreacione (*sic*, = procur.) domini Wil-
lelmi Curteys Abbatis monasterii S. Edmundi de Bury, cum vna notabili
tabula, quem librum eiusdem monasterii librarie ab ipso fabricate assig-
nauit et donauit perpetuo remansurum qui signatur sub litera Y et
numero 28.

I owe these particulars to the kindness of the Rev. J. T. Fowler,
Librarian of Bp Cosin's Library. See also under S. 78.

230. In Cat. MSS. Angl. III. 34 among the MSS. of the *Schola apud Coventriam* (catalogued by Humphrey Wanley) I find this entry :

(1460) 15. *Quaestiones Joannis de Janduno super tres libros Aristotelis de Anima.*

*Georgii Trapezuntii librorum Aristotelis de Anima trans-
latio.*

It is written partly on paper and partly on fine parchment, by *Thomas Clare*, monk of *S. Edmund's-Bury*, A.D. 1441. Large folio.

The Librarian of Coventry School has kindly told me that this MS. is not known to exist there now.

With this item my Catalogue might be expected to end ; but I must insert some particulars of a few other books which it is difficult to assign to a class, or which, though belonging to Bury Abbey, did not form part of the Library and so never had a press-mark at all.

231. *A Miscellany.* xiv and xiii. Pemb.

De celebratione missae pro defunctis. xiv.

In small sheets.

Ortus etc. Alexandri, on larger leaves. xiii.

Alexander Dindimo.

Libellus cuiusdam ad Rainerum de columbis.

Visio Pauli 'Dies dominicus...' xiv.

Miracula.

Pastorale Gregorii,

etc. Some French verse occurs.

In vellum wrapper. There is a modern mark 'Goodwin 1496.'

232. *Alani Anticlaudianus.* xiii. Pemb.

Precium x⁴.

A good MS., small, in folding leather cover.

233.	Pastorale Gregorii. Dieta salutis. xiv. Rebound.	xii.	Pemb.
234.	[? J. ...]. Io. Chrysostomi opus imperfectum in Matth. xv. Pemb. homiliae xxxv in Ep. ad Hebr.		
	May be a copy of J. 28. Cf. Wren 22.		
235.	[G. ... ?]. Gregorius in Ezechielem. xii. Pemb. Imperfect at both ends: in double columns.		
236.	[? J. ...]. Hieronymi Epistola. xi, xii. Pemb. de Nominibus. Isidori libri xx. ff. 224: in two hands(?): on two leaves at the end is the Apostles' Creed with corresponding prophecies. <i>Cat. Vet.</i> viii.		
237.	[O. ... ?]. Oculus sacerdotis. xiv, xv. Pemb. Iste liber constat domino Will. Hobyes rectori de heptemale oxsell.: double columns: chain-mark at the end.		
238.	[? G. ... ?]. Gregorii liber pastoralis. xii. Pemb.		
239.	[S. ... ?]. Speculum Christiani. xv. Pemb. Institutiones Peckham. A hymn to S. Osyth on the fly-leaf.		
240.	[? T. ... ?]. Thomae summa 1 ^{ma} 2 ^{da} . xv. Pemb.		
241.	[? T. ... ?]. Thomae summa 3 ^{ta} . xv. Pemb.		
242.	[? T. ... ?]. Thomae quodlibeta. xv. Pemb. Nic. de Aqua Villa.		
243.	[D. or L.]. Decreta. xiii, xiv. Pemb. A very large book, written in Italy and illuminated in England, like the Smithfield Decreta (B. M. Royal 10. E. iv). The initials cut out: one figure of an Apostle remains in the corner of f. 1.		
244.	[? B. ... ?]. Epistolae Pauli cum comment. Ambr. Aug. Aimonis Jer. xiii. Pemb. Rebound: fly-leaves gone.		

255. [? B. ...]. xii Prophetae glosati. xii, xiii. Pemb.

Old binding: two clasps: looks like a Bury book.

256. [? O. ...]. Pars oculi sacerdotis. xiv, xv. Pemb.

'precium' erased.

The above are all books of monastic *provenance* at Pembroke College, which either probably or possibly came from Bury¹. We must now turn to some other Libraries. I despair of gaining much from the stores in the University Library: the almost universal rebinding of MSS. in the last century has robbed us of all the help which we might have gained from the covers and also from the fly-leaves, of which a great many have disappeared. Among the MSS. at Gonville and Caius College there are probably a good many of the books we are in search of, besides the four which bear such evident marks of their origin. Of those which I have examined the following resemble most nearly the Bury books.

257. [? A.]. Doctrinale Alexandri (Necham) versificatum.

xiii. Gonv. & Cai. 438 (635).

Old binding: white skin over boards: strap and pin: fly-leaves from a Missal.

258. [? S.]. Sermones Dominicales.

xiii, xiv. Gonv. & Cai. 441 (636).

Binding as above: strap and pin: French and English scribbles occur; e.g. on f. 27 a an English rhyme.

¹ I had written these words when my attention was caught by a note in the *Monasticon* (iii. 114 note d) derived from the *Registrum Curteys* (see post), which tells us that the students belonging to Bury Abbey were sent, at Oxford to Gloucester Hall (refounded as Worcester College), and at Cambridge to Gonville Hall. This last fact helps to explain a phenomenon which had struck me very much in my inspection of the MSS. at Gonville and Caius College. Very many of the bindings and some of the handwritings are marked by characteristics of Bury S. Edmund's. The volumes thus distinguished usually have no Bury press-mark. One is inclined to conjecture that the students brought their books with them from Bury and presented them to the College. They would most likely be written and bound in the Abbey: and many of the older ones

259. [? G.]. Grammatica. xiii. Gonv. & Cai. 385 (605).

Ex dono M. Rogeri Marchall (many of the books given by him are like Bury books). This resembles the grammatical part of B. 357.

260. Comm. in Libros metaphysicorum, etc. xiv, xv. Gonv. & Cai. 367.

Old boards: strap and pin: 'precium x': table at end: early leaves gone.

261. [? B.]. Expositio in Apocalypsim. xii. Gonv. & Cai. 301 (515).

Old binding: strap and pin: chain-mark at lower R. corner of front cover. Fly-leaves from a service-book of cent. xi with Lessons. First leaves of text gone.

262. [B. 20..]. Glossa in Ep. ad Romanos etc. xii, xiii. Wisbech Museum.

Fly-leaves gone. On f. 1 Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia: boards: two clasps.

263. [B. ...]. Concordia Euangelistarum. xii, xiii. Wisbech Museum.

f. 1 gone. The Canons under plain arches: f. 1 of the harmony gone: boards: two clasps.

264. [I. ...]. Innocentius de officiis misse. xiii. Wisbech
de vii criminalibus. Museum.

Glosa Bernardi, etc.

Templum domini.

In several hands: partly in two columns: boards, strap and pin.

265. [S. ?]. Collecte sentencie ex diuersis uoluminibus pa-
trum. xv. Wisbech Museum.

Said to be "by a monk of Ely" but I cannot find the evidence: pre-
fixed are 6 ff. of xi, xii cent. antiphons with music. There is no cover.

may have been actually in the Library there, and may have been given to students or bought by them or exchanged for newer and finer copies of the same book. In any case this connexion of the Abbeys with the older Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge may be found to explain several odd facts in paleo-
graphy, and may help towards settling the vexed questions connected with the habits of writing and book-making peculiar to the several great English houses.

266. [S. ?]. Speculum Saluationis and Dieta Salutis with table. xv. Wisbech Museum.

Boards: strap and pin fastening.

267. [? A.]. Abbonis Vita et Passio S. Edmundi.

xii. Lambeth 362.

Followed by Hymna, Mass of S. Edmund, and Abbo's letter to Dunstan: ff. 12, well written: followed by an anonymous Life *ex uetusto libro MS* cum libro Burensi colligato* (xvi) ff. 13—18. One of Lumley's MSS. used by Battely, etc.

This is the only thing like a Bury MS. that I can find at Lambeth.

The *Liber Albus* (C. 68) has notices of some lost volumes, in the Librarian's hand. On f. 203: *Iste tractatus (de silentio) melius et plenius habetur in quodam papiro h. de k: on f. 207 (de signis): Vide signa melius collecta in papiro quodam h. de kirk.* (Henricus de Kirkstode is plainly meant). On f. 200: *Vide no(ta)bilem informacionem pro ingressu nouiciorum in quodam quaterno domini abbatis in pergamento et incipit Vnumquodque scimus etc.: on f. 210 b: Correcta est ista scriptura (Con-suetudinum) per exemplar in rotulo uetustissimo domini abbatis.*

One other book in the Bodleian certainly belonged to the Abbey: this is

268. [? B. ?]. Psalterium *Hebraice.*

xiii, xiv (?). Bodl. Laud. Orient. 174.

Vellum, ff. 63.

On f. 1 is

Hoc Psalterium Ebraycum est de bibliotheca Venerabilis monasterii sancti Eadmundi Acomodatum fratri Ricardo bryngkelei ordinis minorum sacreque theologie humillimo professori. 1502.

On f. 1 b are earlier scribbles in lead pencil

Fit (?fui) paris m. cc. lxi. pax haut puto F(ui ?).

andegauis...

Galli iactantur...Angli.

Nomina balliugorum.

On 2 a list of names, very faint

Pet.

reginaldus.

:

Iac.

Osbertus.

...elfum.
 Reg. foliot.
 :
 Adam de Chalixt.
 Benedictus.
 Iohannes(?) de rodin(?).
 Galfridus pistor.
 henricus.
 Ioh. de Bosco.
 Pet. de Cranele.
 de Oistre.
 de Norwic.
 de Wigorn.

The text of the book is well written, with vowel-points. The Latin titles of the Psalms were added in cent. xv. On f. 62 is a note by Brinkley on the Hebrew names of God.

For facts concerning Brinkley see Rendel Harris, *The Leicester Codex of the N. T.* 1887, pp. 17 sqq. He borrowed the Greek Gospels, now at Caius College, from the Oxford Franciscans, and owned the Greek Psalter in the same Library, and also Cod. 372. He was Provincial of the English Franciscans.

It may be well at this point to enumerate the Libraries in which I do not expect to find more Bury books, either because I have studied the printed Catalogues or because I have examined the Libraries themselves. For the Oxford College Libraries I have used the Catalogues of Coxe and Kitchin (for Christ Church): the Bodleian and British Museum have yielded all that they are likely to yield for the present. Among Cambridge Libraries I have examined the University Library, those of Clare, Corpus Christi, Pembroke, Gonville and Caius, King's, Jesus, Sidney Sussex, Trinity, Trinity Hall, Emmanuel, and S. John's Colleges. There may be something yet to come from Peterhouse and from Gonville and Caius, S. Catharine's, Christ's, Queens' and Magdalene, but not much. I find one book at Lambeth, and part of a Register at Cheltenham: this latter storehouse must, one would think, have books from Bury in it, but it is well-nigh hopeless to find them. The Library of Eton College has no Bury books, and none are known at Dublin.

Foreign Libraries I have been forced to leave unexplored,

with the exception of a couple of notices of MSS. at Douai. M. Omont has kindly told me that there is nothing at Paris: some books may be in the Vatican (probably among Queen Christina's MSS.). These, if they should become known to me, must form the subject of a future communication. It is probable that English collections will furnish more volumes also; but it seems worth while to print my collections in their present state. However imperfect they may be, they ought to furnish at least a starting-point for other explorers.

I have now to enumerate a few books which may be classed as Service-books and did not belong to the Library of the Abbey.

269. *Euangelia iv.* xi. B. M. Harl. 76.

A beautiful MS.: has no mark or inscription, but at the end are copies of four Bury Charters, nearly contemporary: on the binding (of xviith cent.) are the arms of Sir Simonds d'Ewes.

The Eusebian Canons are finely illuminated; the beginnings of SS. Matt. Luc. and Joh. are gone. The opening words of S. Mark are in splendid gold, and the page is bordered. In the Table of Gospels at the end, the only Saints marked in capitals are SS. Peter, Paul, the Virgin, Matthew, Cosmas and Damian, Martin, Andrew. S. Savina who is mentioned seems to be a mistake for Sabina.

270. *Nouum Testamentum.* xi and xii, xiii. Pemb.

A splendid folio, written by a scribe William, and given to the Abbey by Reginald de Denham, sacrist: the text is of xiith or early xiiith century: prefixed to it are six leaves of drawings of the Gospel history, of the xith century. This book is the subject of a separate paper by the present writer (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 221).

271. *Officia mortuorum.* xv. B. M. Harl. 5334.

Liber monasterii S. Edmundi regis et martiris de Bury de dono domini Johannis fenyngham eiusdem loci monachi cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

This is a small book, imperfect at the beginning: in cent. xvii it belonged to Clement Heigham. The Litany invokes: SS. Stephen, '*Edmundus ij*' (in red)...Alban, Oswald, Edward, Alphege, Kenelm, *Martyrs*: Silvester, Marcialis.....Saba.....Dunstan, Edmund, Swythun, Ethelwold, Cuthbert, Paulinus, '*Botulphe ii*', Jurmin, Edwold, Edward, Wlstan, Yvo, Felix, '*Cuthlaoe*'...Brandan, *Confessors*: Genefafa...Etheldreda, Mildred, 'Osygtha', Edith, Ethelburga, Sexburga, Wythburga, Ermenilda, Gertrudis,

Dorothea, Wenefreda, Frideswide, Modwenna, Birgitta, Nathalia, Lucia, Ursula, *Virgins*. The anniversaries cum magno, dupplici, and simplici sonitu are recorded. Only the Offices for the Dead are in the book. I have little doubt that it is the *Officium pro defunctis* mentioned by Battely.

Following this are anniversaries of Abbots and others, down to Abbot Will. Curteya.

272. *Rituale monasterii S. Edmundi.* xiv, xv. B. M. Harl. 2977.

8vo size: 31 lines to a page.

A Directorium of which 50 ff. remain; extending from Advent to May 1. It is fixed as a Bury book by the mention of the arm of S. Botolph (Noni Dec.) and by the directions for the celebration of S. Edmund's Translation (ff. 49 b, 50 a): the procession is described and the *vestiarius* is directed to carry the sword of S. Edmund¹.

273. *Psalterium.* xiv. Douai, cod. 171.

From the English Benedictine College, transferred to the Town Library: I examined it on Sept. 27, 1893. A short description of the illuminations is appended. The book is a folio of ff. 223; the style of work to my mind absolutely faultless: it is quite the most beautiful of all the Bury books. The binding is of cent. xvii, tooled.

f. 2 a. *Psalterium domini Iohannis Abbatis*² ex dono domini Thome vicarii de Gorleston. The hand in which this is written, if not identical with that of the rest of the book, is at least very like it.

3 a. Prayer: *Suscipe dignare.*

4 a. Chronology of the Kings of England from Edward the Confessor: the last thing mentioned is the marriage of Edward II. to Isabella (1307).

5 a blank. 5 b a list of remarkable events, Archbishops of Canterbury, etc., ending with the decapitation of Thomas of Lancaster 'extra uillam de pumfreyd.'

6 a blank. 6 b a Computus for Easter.

7 a (6 a). Kalendar, in scarlet, darker red, and blue. There seems to be nothing especially characteristic of Bury. Each month has two round miniatures, one (of the Zodiacial sign) in the R. margin, the other at the bottom of the page: one (and sometimes both) has a punctured gold ground. *Jan.* Warms his feet and drinks with a ladle from a caldron on the fire. *Aquarius.* A maid with two water-pots.

¹ For extracts and further particulars, see my paper on the Abbey Church at Bury (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc.*, vol. viii. p. 304 sqq.).

² This is either John de Brinkley (1361—1379) or John de Timworth (1384—1390).

Feb. Digs. *Mar.* Prunes vines. *Ap.* Sows from a basket. *Taurus.* A good bull, coloured purple. *May.* Rides to *R.*, a branch of roses in one hand, a hawk on the other, a wreath on his head. *Gemini.* Two nude youths hold lances and a shield with a black dragon on it. *June.* Weeding among green wheat. *July.* Mowing, in a shirt; two pegs on the scythe-handle. *Leo.* Remarkably good. *Aug.* Reaps: a peacock butterfly above. *Virgo* has a cithern. *Sept.* Two nude men tread grapes in an oblong vat: vines above. *Libra.* Scales held by a youth. *Oct.* with club feeds a red hog in a wood. *Scorpius.* A red and green dragon, wingless. *Nov.* kills a pig with an axe. *Sagitt.* A centaur shooting backward to left. (S. Edmund's feast in blue.) *Dec.* A king, white-haired, between two youths, full-face, feasting: a boar's head on the table. *Capricorn.* A white long-haired goat leaps up to a tree.

f. 12 a blank. 12 b. Full-page of the most splendid work. In the border, on each side, three prophets with blank scrolls, at top David with harp, at bottom Moses, horned, with the tables. In the centre, the Virgin crowned, standing, holds the Child, who is fully draped, with cross-nimbus; he is laughing at a goldfinch which his mother holds. The ground, gold with patterns.

13 a. Full page, gold patterned ground. The Crucifixion. The Virgin and S. John stand full-face. The Title is on the Cross: three nails are used. The border is chiefly composed of the arms of England and France alternate. At the corners are the Evangelistic Emblems, with names on scrolls. Top centre, Christ on the rainbow, as Judge, wounded: *L.* side, the Incredulity of Thomas (two figures only): *R.*, *Noli me tangere* (two figures), Christ has Resurrection cross: bottom centre, the Descent into Hell: Christ delivers three souls. 13 b blank.

14 a. *Beatus uir.* Full border and half-page painting in initial. The border contains twenty-five kings in medallions, and the Virgin and Child at the top: outside this are birds and an archer. *Initial:* Jesse-tree containing David and eight ancestors. *Below the text:* figures without background. David precedes the Ark borne to *R.* by four men: two acolytes with candles escort it: other figures (one kneeling) in front. On *R.* a building: a Bp and others about to receive the Ark.

Dominus illuminatio. *Initial.* David throned anointed by Samuel: Jesse (old) stands on *R.*, a dog at David's feet. *Below text:* centre, on gold ground, a corpse tied to a tree: *R.* (no ground) three youths with bows: *R.* a throned king. This is the legend of the three youths whom Solomon ordered to shoot at their father's corpse.

48 a. At bottom (to fill a space) is an excellent picture of a Parliament of beasts (dog, deer, elephant, porcupine, monkey, bear, ox, etc.) before two lions: gold ground.

48 b. *Dixi custodiam.* *Initial.* David throned: a small figure of Christ bends out of a cloud and touches his tongue. *Below text:* *L.* a

lady and knight talk: a knight tilts at a horseman with scimitar: an old man sits by a cradle with a child in it: a lady and knight with hawk (in gown) walk *R.* and look back.

Quid gloriari. Smaller *initial.* A city (Nob): Saul seated in a tower cross-legged: three other figures in the city: in the gate Doege, in red, is beheading a kneeling priest in blue. *Below text:* a ploughman with two-wheeled plough (face *L.*): the plough drawn by two oxen and two horses: a crow flies above the oxen, a magpie sits on the horses: a gloved man with stick talks to the ploughman: *R.* two figures embracing.

Dixit insipiens. *Initial:* David, white-haired, on throne: the Fool bearded and nearly nude, with flail, puts out his tongue, and makes ribald gestures. *Border, L.* a man (Marcolf) clad in a net, on two crutches, with burst shoes; a crowned horseman (Solomon) below speaks to him. A Unicorn lays his head in a maiden's lap, and is shot by an archer in a tree. A woman covered with white hair (?S. Mary of Egypt), a man in black gown hides his face and hands a black gown to her. *Below text:* a recumbent man kissed by a woman: a man on foot with bow points to him: a horseman approaches: on *R.* a man on a mule with outstretched hands implores.

Saluum me fac. Above the initial, Christ seated. *Initial.* Above, the ark with men and beasts seen in it, on the waters. Below, a ship: a devil is breaking the mast, a man on one knee cuts at it with an axe: four other men in the ship; one of them casts Jonah into the mouth of a fish. *Border, L.* S. Martin and the beggar. *Below text.* Solomon with sword, on throne: a woman brings a child to him: another woman on *R.*: *R.* *Noli me tangere* (two figures): *R.* a cat and mouse.

Exultate. *Initial:* above, Christ throned, between two angels with stringed instruments. Below, Jacob wrestles with the Angel. *Border:* at the corners, four kings are (top *L.*) in bed, the others playing bells, etc. *Below text:* a Fox with chasuble, mitre and crosier preaches to cock, hens, chickens and ducks.

Cantate. *Initial:* an angel stands by an old shepherd seated and helps him to read a scroll *Gloria in excelsis—hominibus bone*, with musical notes. Two small shepherds on *R.*, three sheep and two fighting rams in front. *Border top L.* the Nativity with ox and ass, and Joseph: lower *L.* Fortune in the midst of a wheel, four kings on the tire. *Below text* Marcolf (rubbed) bending over: Solomon on horse speaks to him: *R.* Samson and the lion.

Domine exaudi. Smaller *Initial:* the Church, crowned, holds a processional cross with crucifix, and a church. *Below:* a man and woman embrace under a tree.

Dixit dominus. *Initial:* the Father and Son on one throne: under their feet are two kings, one trying to bite the toe of the Son. The Father has a book: both are cross-nimbed. *Below text:* the Entry into Jeru-

salem. The foal runs under the ass: three Apostles follow: in front (*R.*) and inside the city are nine figures, climbing trees, spreading garments, stripping themselves, etc. A long green and yellow striped carpet is being spread. *Border*: Twelve Apostles in medallions, seated, hold books inscribed with the Apostles' Creed in clauses in microscopic characters.

Ad dominum (cxix||cxx). David kneels, bare-headed: harp on *R.* Christ, a small figure throned, in a cloud, bends forward to him. *Below text*: David slings at Goliath, who is on his back: a grotesque horseman between them takes off his hat: *R.* a monkey as doctor stands by a bear in bed, and holds up the glass vessel characteristic of a physician.

Confitebor (Isa. xxv). A white-bearded man on a seat: hands raised. *Below text*: three hares, one on horseback with horn, hunt a dog who progresses on his hind legs to *L*.

The *Litany* invokes SS. Albane, Aelphege, Eadmunde, Eadwarde, Oswalde, Kenelme, *Martyrs*: Dunstane, Augustine cum soc., Eadmunde, Eadwarde, Cuthberthe, Botulphe, Ieronime, Benedicta, Leonarde, Egidi, Aldelme, Germane, Macute, Swithune, *Confessors*: Ositha, Etheldreda, Editha, *Virgins*.

Vigiliae Mortuorum. *Initial*: a dead or dying man (black-bearded) in bed: two angels flying down hold his soul in a white cloth: the Divine Hand above in a cloud. *Below text*: a man fights a snail.

Dirige. Small *Initial*: Christ as Judge, on the bow.

The small initials sometimes, but not commonly, contain figures: all of them, as well as the line-fillings, are of the most absolutely perfect kind: there seems to be no falling off anywhere in the decorative work.

274. *Psalterium cum Canticis et Hymnis.* xv. In the
Library of the Grammar School, Bury.

This is a large folio in a vellum wrapper: which may be fully described here: on f. 1 is

Hunc Librum olim/Jacobi Cobs Armigeri/dedit nobis in Bibliotheca Scholae Buriensis/Seruandum/Jacobus Haruy Jurisconsultus, ejus/ex Filia Nepos/et hujus Scholae aliquando Alumnus/An. Domini/1706.

There are 284 ff. in quires of 8.

Contents.

1. *Kalendar*, in red, blue and black.

Ap. 29. *Transl. S. Edmundi reg. et m. in red.*

Aug. 26. *Dedicacio ecclesie Norwic. added.*

Oct. 2. *S. Thome herfordensis episcopi in red.*

2. *Psalterium*, in double columns.

Ps. 1. *Beatus vir. Border*, a fine Jesse-tree: on *L*. three kings, on

R. five prophets (one gone): on *L.* of the initial at top, the Virgin and Child.

Initial. David playing the harp, the lower end of which is in a bag.

Ps. xxvi. *Dominus illuminatio.* *Initial.* David kneeling before an altar with green hangings, points to his eye: above, the Divine Hand.

Ps. xxxviii. *Dixi custodiam.* *Initial.* Red flourished ground. David kneeling, points to his mouth: God, half-length, in a blue cloud. A partial border.

Ps. li. *Quid gloriaris.* *Initial.* Of smaller size, gold flourished ground. David slings at Goliath, who has a dragon on his shield.

Ps. lii. *Dixit insipiens.* *Initial.* Red flourished ground. David seated in blue mantle: a jester in red and yellow dances before him, with a flail, his cap ends in a serpent.

Ps. lxviii. *Saluum me fac.* *Initial.* David, nude, kneels in blue water, very well painted: above is God in the sky with orb.

Ps. lxxx. *Exultate.* *Initial.* Dark red flourished ground. David in blue, a harp beside him, plays on six bells with a hammer.

Ps. xcvi. *Cantate.* *Initial.* Green flourished ground. On a black and yellow pavement, seven clerks, three of them boys in surplices, one in cope, one in alb, sing at a lectern from a book with music. A partial border.

Ps. ci. *Domine exaudi,* has a slightly larger initial than its neighbours.

Ps. cix. *Dixit Dominus.* On *L.* the Son with halo of rays, cruciform and orb: on *R.* the Father: between them the Dove. A ring of blue angels surrounds them: below their feet are two black devils, chained.

In the Litany we have 'Edmunde ii' among the *Martyrs*, next after Stephen. Other English *Martyrs* are SS. George, Pancras, Alban, Oswald, Edward, Alphege, Thomas (erased), Kenelm. *Confessors:* SS. Marcialis (in the second place), Swythin, 'Benedicte ii', Ethelwold, Cuthbert, Paulinus, Bothulph, 'Jurmine', Edwold, Edward, Wlstan, Ivo, Felix, Guthlac, Leonard, Alexius. *Virgins:* SS. Etheldreda, Mildritha, Ogitha (sic), Editha, Ethelburga, Sexburga, Whitburga, Ermenilda. The suffrage 'Ut regibus et principibus etc.' occurs.

3. *Officium Mortuorum.* A good decorative initial *P.*

At lectio vii two leaves (ff. 131, 2) are gone.

4. *Lectiones*, in Nat. Domini.

in *xlm^o*, etc.

De corpore Christi.

5. *Sequentiae.*

Sabbato ad Vesperas. O lux beata Trinitas, with a good initial.

In festo S. Stephani.

Vincenti.

Cutberti.

In translatione S. Edmundi, viz.: Deus tuorum militum. Quaesumus auctor. Gloria tibi. Martir dei qui unicus. O mundi pater unice.

De reliquiis, next before All Saints.

After All Saints are two paper leaves. Then the hand changes to one much worse but not much later, continuing with *Commune Sanctorum*. At the end are the sequences for the Visitation, with pen and ink initials, and for the Name of Jesus.

The Head Master of Bury School, Mr Peile, was so kind as to allow me to examine this book, which is a really fine work of art, and also to lend me some excellent photographs of the illuminations in it: for which I should like to express my thanks to him.

Lastly, an attempt must be made to give a clear list of the extant Registers of the Abbey, which outnumber those of almost any other religious house. None of the lists hitherto published can be called complete; and probably the same criticism will apply to the present one. I add the names of the writers who mention each volume.

In the Public Library at Douai:

275. Cod. 553. Liber cenobii S. Edmundi, circa 1424.

In a wooden binding: ff. 72. 'This Boke belongeth to me Roberte Wode: nunc Iohannis Smithi Londinensis'. The main subjects of the book are two: first a list of Benefactors: and secondly the rules of the Officium Coquinarie, the last compiled by Andrew Astone (as Claud. A. xii.).

In the British Museum:

276. Cotton. Claud. A. xii. Registrum Hostilariae. xv. (1426, compiled by Brother Andrew Astone).

Martin, *Monasticon* (iii. 117), Arnold (*Memorials* i. p. ix). It is in the same hand as the Douai Register.

277. Tib. B. ix. ff. 32: Reg. W. Cratfield et W. Excetre. xiv.
(damaged in the fire of 1731).

Martin, *Monasticon*, Arnold.

[Galba, E. ii, mentioned in the *Memorials* (i. p. ix): it is a Register of S. Benedict of Hulme, and contains a *Fundatio ecclesie S. Edmundi*, etc.]

278. Harley. 27. Reg. Croftis. xv. of the Pitanciarus.

Belonged to Sir Simonds d'Ewes. Martin, *Mon.*, Battely, Arnold.

279. 58. Reg. Sacristae II.

Mon., Arnold, Martin.

280. *Harl.* 230. Reg. Thomae (de Tottington).
Mon., Arnold. Belonged to Sir Simonds d'Ewes.

281. 308. Leases, from 9—31 Hen. VIII.
Mon., Martin. Belonged to Sir Simonds d'Ewes. It should be called *Registrum Reeve alias Melford*.

282. 638. Reg. 'Werketone'. xv.
Mon., Battely, Arnold. Belonged to Sir Simonds d'Ewes.

283. 645. Reg. Kempe. xv.
Mon., Arnold. Belonged to Sir Simonds d'Ewes.

284. 743. Reg. Lakynghethe. xv.
Belonged to Bp Stillingfleet. *Mon.*, Battely, Arnold In Dugdale's time this belonged to the Bacons (Martin).

285. *Lansdowne.* 416. Reg. Ikworth 1425.
Used by Battely, *Mon.*, Arnold.

286. *Additional.* 7096. Reg. Curteys II. xv.
Belonged to Sir H. Spelman.

287. 14847. *Registrum Album.* xiii, xiv.
Contains Bulla, Placita Coronae, etc.

288. 14848. Reg. Curteys I. xv.
Formerly belonged to Craven Ord, and previously to R. Bacon, to Dr Cox Macro of Norton, and to one Nowel. *Mon.*, Battely, Tanner, Arnold.

289. 14850. Rental of Redgrave, etc. xvi.
Many leaves blank: belonged to Sir Nich. Bacon.

290. 31970. A Register of the Manors of Hinderclay and Rickinghall. Inferior.
Late xvth cent.: in double columns with xvith cent. additions about Redgrave, Gislingham and Wortham. Purchased from S. S. Johnson in 1882. The leaves are numbered 193—289.

291. *Registrum in Officio Ducis Lancastriae.*
Battely, Arnold, Martin.
Registrum Celerarii. The following account is extracted from copious notes most kindly furnished to me by Mr E. Powell.
Duchy of Lancaster Records, Div. XI. No. 5 (in Public Record Office, London).
A volume bound in old oak boards, possibly original, but the book has been cut since it was written, folios measure *circa* $13\frac{1}{4} \times 9$.

Between the boards there are now 152 folios, the last two are unnumbered and loose. The first two are also unnumbered and blank but for inscriptions

Mr Styward his booke 1588 (on 2nd page).

Styward 1543 (on 3rd page).

Janit. Celer. 14 (on 4th page) (written in xvth cent. hand).

The numbered folios are 148 and run consecutively, except that (104—108) precede (98—103); but the matter runs consecutively so that they must have been numbered first and bound up wrong. The enumeration of the folios is all in the *old* arabic notation.

After the blank folios in the front, two appear to have been cut out before folio no. 1.

After folio 148 two folios and a complete gathering of eight folios have been cut out.

The writing in the book is of the latter half of the xiiith and xivth century, very little, I think, later than Ric. II. The book is in great need of re-binding.

The principal contents are

(a) Placita (Ed. I. et II.),

(b) Bounds of Mildenhall, Eriswell, etc. Rentals.

(c) Transcripta omnium cartarum et cirographorum totius Cellarie S. Eadmundi. Scripta anno regni regis Henrici filii Johannis regis L. (1256), tempore dominorum H. de Hospitali et W. de Beccles Celerariorum.

At Cambridge, in the University Library:

292. Ff. 2. 29. Reg. Rubeum Vestiarii I.

293. Ff. 4. 35. " " II.

294. Ff. 2. 33. Reg. Sacristae I.

295. Ee. 3. 60. Reg. Pyncebek (Vestiarii).

296. Gg. 4. 4. Reg. Alphabeticum (Cellerarii I).

297. Mm. 4. 19. Reg. Nigrum.

All these, it seems, once belonged to the Bacons; to whom the Abbey was granted, then to John Cradock of Rickinghall in Suffolk. Battely (163) says they made their way to the Bodleian, but were returned to Cambridge by the 'Visitors' of the Bodleian. *Mon.*, Battely, Tanner, Arnold, Martin.

At Barton Hall, Suffolk (Sir E. Bunbury):

298. Registrum Cellerarii II.

Cited as Sir Thomas Hanmer's of Mildenhall. *Mon.*, Tanner, Arnold.

C. A. S. Octavo Series. XXVIII.

In the Phillipps Library, Cheltenham :

299. Registrum Cellerarii III.

Arnold.

Battely adds :

Registrum in Archiis Buriensibus.

in Officio Registrarii Buriensis.

in Archiis Archidiaconi Sudburiensis.

Arnold¹ also mentions the above.

Registrum Swaffham (one of those in the Harley Collection). Olim
Thomae Eden, LL.D. in 1641.

'Officium pro Defunctis MS. penes autorem.'

This must be no. 271, which is also a Harleian MS.

Tanner adds :

Registrum penes Rob. Bacon¹.

penes Doctorem Covel Mag. Coll. Christi Cant.

No doubt a Harley MS.; the Earl of Oxford bought Dr Covel's MSS.

Registrum penes Ed. Coke, citat. a Spelman.

Not identified.

300. Leiger Books penes Lord Cornwallis.

Probably of the time of Nich. Bacon, to whom the Liberty of S. Edmund was granted. There are, besides, transcripts of Prince F. Duleep Singh's Consuetudinary (made in the last century, when the MS. was more perfect than it is now) and of several other of the above Registers, at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk. These now belong to Mr Lysaght.

In MS. Egerton 2375, ff. 390 sqq. is a list of Bury Registers in the hand of Thomas Martin of Palgrave, a great Suffolk antiquary. The volume which contains it is one of Yates's Collections for the History of Bury, and is chiefly devoted to the Registers. Martin's list supplies some details which I have incorporated in my own list, and adds :

Registrum de Bury penes Gul. Horne de Heverland com. Norf. ex relatione Tho. Taylor de Fakenham Suff.

Registrum de Bury penes Hen. Spelman, mutil. ff. 44—53.

Registrum penes Joh. Peighton citat. a Stow.

Martirologium. Liber in quo tenorem scriptorum maxima aestimationis annotari fecerunt. f. 4^o.

¹ The Archdeacon of Sudbury, the Ven. F. R. Chapman, tells me that there is a strong probability that 'Bacon's Register' is identical with Prince F. Duleep Singh's Consuetudinary: also that the 'Register in the Archdeacon of Sudbury's office' probably means no more than Extracts from Norwich Registers. At one time or another, however, the Bacons probably owned most of the Bury Registers.

At Jesus College, Cambridge :

301. MS. Q. B. 1. *Forma Composicionum Cartarum Obligationum Acquietanciarum Indenturarum libellorum et Appellacionum cum alijs pro studio Abbatis.*

Paper, ff. 273, in red leather on boards: strap and pin: title in black letter on the back: cent. xv (late). The names in the specimen charters are rarely given in full: but the attribution to Bury abbey is not doubtful. The earliest document copied in it seems to be a *Protestatio* of Symon, Bp of Norwich, dated 1263.

With this my main task ends. But a great deal more remains to be said, though it is doubtful whether I can take this opportunity of saying it. In the first place, a rough calculation of the number of the books in the Library may not be unacceptable. I will take them by classes and give in separate columns, firstly the highest number that we actually find in each class, and secondly a round number which we may fairly allow to have existed.

A.	222	230	M.	93	100
B.	555	600	N.	1(?)	—
C.	78	100	O.	55	60
D.	6	10	P.	185 ¹	200
E.	43	50	R.	70	80
F.	12	20	S.	184	200
G.	129	130	T.	65	70
H.	56	60	U.	1	—
J.	90	100	V.	18	20
L.	393	400	Y.	27	30

The total of the actual existing numbers reaches 2283, that of the round numbers 2460. Either of these is enormous for a mediaeval Library. The possibility suggested above, that gaps to admit fresh acquisitions were left in the numeration, recurs with considerable force at this point. In one place in particular I seem to see a trace of this. Between the Gloss on S. John, and the Gloss on the Pauline Epistles (B. 109 and B. 204) a gap of nearly 100 occurs, and it is difficult to imagine

¹ P. 1000 (see no. 182) looks very like a mistake.

either that there were sufficient glosses to fill it, or that an entirely new class of books was foisted in here. However, the existence of gaps cannot yet be proved definitely, and whether they existed or not, there can be no doubt that the Library was a very large one indeed. We can do something towards filling the lacunae that are so common, firstly by examining the old Catalogue, and secondly by conjecture. Now, setting aside repetitions and service-books, the old Catalogue gives us 153 separate books which we have not now got. Let us arrange them in classes. To class A would belong

xviii. Anselm.	xxxiv. Ambrose.
xviiii. Augustine.	lviiii, xciiii 206—209.
xx.	xlvi. Aethicus.
xxviii.	lxv. Arithmetica.
xxxi.	lxx. Albinus.
xxxii.	255. Exc. de Amalario
xlii.	
xliii.	
l.	
lvii.	
lviii.	
lxvii.	
xxci, 185, 189.	

In all 26 volumes.

Class B:

1, 1*. Bibles (and glossed books).	xli. Bede.
ii, lvii, liii, lxxii, cxx, cxxi, cxxxvii, cxxxiii, cxxxiii, cxxxvii, cxxxviii (2), cxxxviii, 140—142, 151, 159, 227, 231—233.	lxiiii, cvii, 210, 213, 258*. Benedict.
33 in all.	cxxiiii. Bruno.
	181, 182. Boetius.

Class C:

xx. Cassiodorus.	xxi. Cyprian.
xxx, lv, cviii.	lii. Caesar.
183. Clement. Rec.	
247. (Chronica).	
248. („).	
253, 254. Consuetud.	
262. Cyril. 263, 4. Cassian.	
265.	
14 volumes.	

Class D:

ciiii. Dioscorides.	lxiii. Dionysius.
164. Donatus.	cxxvi. Dialectica.

Four volumes.

Class E:

xi. Egesippus.
One volume.

Class F:

158. Liber florum.
One volume.

Class G:

xlviii. Gregory.	252. Gemma anime.
154.	260. Greg. Naz.

Four volumes.

Class H:

lxi. Historia.	cxxiii. Hildebert.
166. Haimo.	
179. Horatius (or O.).	

Four volumes.

Class J:

x. Iosephus.	xxiiii. Ieronimus.
243.	xxxiiii, cviiii, 195, 198.

Seven volumes.

Class L:

160. Decreta.	162. Iustinian.
171. Decreta (2).	

Four volumes.

Class M:

liii. Macrobius (2).	cixviii. Medicine (2).
lvi. Marciianus.	

Five volumes.

Class O:

xxiiii. Orosius.	215. Origen.
Two volumes.	

Class P:

xii. Passionalia (3).	ciii. Plautus.
xiiii. Pascasius.	cvi. Pliny.
xliii. Priscian (3).	cxxxvi. Liber de partibus.
xlv. Paterius.	240, 1. Pet. Lomb. (2).
lxxviiii. Prudentius.	259. Paradisus.

15 volumes.

Class Q:

xxcviii. Quintilian.
167.

Two volumes.

Class R:

lxviii. Rabanus.
lxxi.

xxc. Rufinus.
258. Radulphus de Carduil.

Four volumes.

Class S:

lxxiiii. Servius.
xxvii. Seneca.
li. Liber scintillarum.
169. Sermons.
257.

cxvi. Statius.
219. Sententiarum liber.
261. Smaragdus.

Eight volumes.

Class T:

155. Tullius.

One volume.

Class V:

xxcv. Via Ierusalem.
cxv. Virgilius.
cxvii. Victorinus.
157. Vitruvius.

cxxii. Vitae Sanctorum.
170, 172, 173, 249, 250.

Ten volumes.

Class Y:

viii. Ysidorus.
viii, 199, 200.

xvi. Yvo.
xvii.

Six volumes.

Add to this, from Leland's list:

A.	1. Abbo.	3. Anastasius.	N.	13. Necham.
	5. Alcuin.	7. Adelard.	R.	8. Robert Melund. (2).
	17. Aldhelm.			11. Ryngsted.
C.	22. Chronica Hoveden.		S.	2. Simplicius.
K.	12. Kilwardby.		T.	9. Trivet.
M.	4. Meditationes.	6. Monegal- dus.	V.	10. Wallensis.
				14, 15. Utred.

18 volumes in all.

To some of these we can assign probable marks: for instance, no. 185 was most likely A. 3, and speaking generally,

all the fourteen volumes of Augustine which we gain from the old Catalogue probably came between A. 1 and A. 60; while the Bibles must have occupied the early numbers of Class B. But we can gain a good deal more by noticing the books which the old Catalogue does not contain. The names of Bernard, Bonaventura, Bromyard, Gorham, Holcot, Hugo of Vienne, Hugh and Richard of S. Victor, Grosseteste, Januensis, Albertus Magnus, Necham, Peter Comestor, Ralph of Flavigny, Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, are wholly wanting; and so, too, in great measure are such comprehensive headings as *Commentaries on Aristotle*, and on the *Sentences*, *Sermones*, *Postillae*, *Tabulae*, *Legenda Aurea*, *Aurora*. These would account for hundreds of volumes: we see almost all of them amply represented in the remains of the Library which we possess. The two classes of Law and Medicine are not adequately represented either in the Catalogue or in the extant remains; and yet we know that there were 393 volumes in L¹, and we may be sure that M was not a small class.

A few words as to the general character of the Library, and I have done; there is no trace of the presence of such treasures as Papias, Irenaeus, or the like², nor of any lost classical author. Rarely indeed do we meet with such phenomena in English monastic Catalogues. But secular literature is moderately well represented. Plautus, Terence, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Virgil, Statius, Seneca, Cicero, Macrobius, Caesar, Sallust, Val. Maximus, Quintilian, Martianus Capella, Pliny, Dioscorides, Servius, Justin, Aethicus, Solinus, Vitruvius, make a very respectable list. It is curious that Ovid and Claudian are absent. In English we have the Rule of S. Benedict and a volume of *Homilies*³. Among the less common patristic

¹ I suspect that many of the unmarked law books at Pembroke College came from Bury: the gifts of law books mentioned in the Douai Register (p. 7, 8) may be appropriately recalled at this point.

² A possible exception is *Cat. Vet. cxvii*, Victorinus.

³ The Bodleian MS. NEF. 4. 12, which contains a Homily on S. Edmund and is said to shew an East Anglian dialect, bears no trace, as Mr Madan is good enough to tell me, of having been a possession of Bury Abbey.

writers I would call attention to the names of Victorinus, Verecundus, Cyril, and Radulfus de Carduil. The 'first part of Merlin' (no. 167) is enigmatical.

Another topic, which must be shortly noticed, is the character of the artistic work in the Bury books. The books most remarkable for their decoration are the Tenison Prudentius (no. 179), the Gospel-books (nos. 269, 70), the Douai Psalter (no. 273), which last was presented to an Abbot and probably not written at Bury, and the Grammar School Psalter (no. 274). These are all of different periods: the pictures prefixed to no. 270 are the only ones which approach in date and style to those of the Tenison Prudentius. But all of them are English work. I seem to detect in some of the xiith century folios a fondness for a particular style of outline drawing (with which we might compare the later drawings in the *Prophetiae Joachim*): examples of this are the two fine initials in B. 205 and B. 280. I do not, however, find myself able to lay down any particular rules for detecting Bury books by the help either of their ornaments or of their writing¹.

But, on the other hand, we have a fair criterion in the press-mark and in the binding: future investigations among MSS. may go to shew that other monastic Libraries in England possessed similar marks, as it is most probable that foreign monasteries did: but none that I have any record of at present—certainly none of the first importance—used the particular combination of Lombardic capital and Arabic numeral which we find in the Bury books. Norwich, for instance, used a Gothic letter and Roman numeral, Durham a small Gothic letter in some cases: S. Alban's marked by *Distinctiones*, S. Augustine's at Canterbury by *Distinctiones* and *Gradus*, Christ Church, Canterbury, by various cabalistic signs, Titchfield and Chichester by a Lombardic letter and Roman numeral, while many houses seem to have contented themselves with

¹ The splendid MS. which Lydgate gave to Henry VI. of his poem on the 'Lives of SS. Edmund and Fremund' (Harl. 2278) if it was executed at Bury, as it most probably was, shews that there were first-rate artists there in the fifteenth century.

inscribing the name of the monastery in their books, without further addition.

The marked uniformity which we see in the bindings of many of the xiith and xiiiith century Bury books (in the later books we find considerable diversity in the character of the bindings) seems to point to a general rebinding of the Library, possibly at the time when the old Catalogue was made. And I am further inclined to believe that at the time when the present press-marks were inserted, there was a general reorganisation and reunion of all the books (saving the Service-books) in the monastery: for we see that originally some of them were assigned to different places: the 'armarium claustrum' and the Refectory are mentioned as well as the 'communis Libraria'. More rebinding seems to have taken place in the xvth century, when books of different classes were bound in the same volume (see nos. 53, 81, 195, etc.). And this feature seems to shew that the press-marks were of use not so much in the local arrangement of the Library as with reference to some comprehensive Catalogue of the xvth century, in which the classing of the books by their press-marks would be preserved. This and similar points we may well expect to have cleared up for us in the future. I can add nothing at present to the facts already recorded.

I append a few scraps of verse, etc., which occur in Bury MSS.

1. G.... (No. 126). Ipswich Museum, No. 6.

f. 202 a. Cent. XIII.

Nomina sanctorum elementata misterium ad merendum et ad pre-
mendum in suis pretendunt elementis sicut patet in hoc nomine Ed-
mundus in subscripta distinctione.

Seven acrostics on the name Edmundus follow: one 'de miraculo' will serve as a specimen.

E dmundus
D ux
M orte
V icta
N ecauit
D ucem
V esanum
S wein.

Then follows an epigram on the name papa, which was found in the bed of Pope Eugenius, 'qui crepuit infra triduum post inuentionem in via fori.'

Then the following verses

De Innocentio

Fata monent stelleque docent auiumque uolatus
Tocius subito malleus orbis eris
Roma diu titubans uariis erroribus acta
Corruet et mundi desinet esse capud.

De predicatoribus

Clareuallorum decimas Jacobi petierunt
A domino papa, sed eas non optinuerunt
Dixerunt monachi se quod petiere datus
Si uellent infra monacorum uiuere muros
Et non exire sine iussu: sed Jacobini
Elegere magis mundum transcurrere bini.

f. 202 b. Lower margin.

Ailredus rex: þanne king is radles • and ledbisop loreles • and eldman wites • and yung man recheles • and piuman scameles • þanne þralles (?) sullen þriuen • and adelinges sulle dwi'nen (?) • þanne child is king • and cherles sune bissop • þanne gold sal speken • and gume sal suien; þanne sal engelond to same gon.

Idem: Whanne child is king • and cherl bissop • and þral alderman. þanne is þe folc wo.

f. 203 b.

Decanus Kartaginensis.

Col de grue }

Oil en mue }

Lange destournel }

Saut de cheuerel }

Pé de putain

Sunt en moine semblant vilain ^{uel signe}

Io ai un deu^{re} de coloine

Malfaheit amour de moine

De vilain et de putain

Lur amour ne vaut un pain.

Nonain riant

Pucele burdeant

E moine errant

Co est la mainnee teruagant.

Fumores Magistri W. le transcendent.

Stat qui imperat

de imperatore

Intentio qui regnat

de rege gallie

Negotiatio qui uocatur elg-

de electo val'

Legatio comitis

de comite britannie

Mirabilia qui scrutantur

de cordatis

Dissensiones intus ad extra	de disco ^{re} parisius inter episcopum et uai ^{us}
Contrarietates qui annunciant	de predictoribus
Tumor tetidis	de diluicio parisius
Exposicio qui afferit	de expositore.

f. 207 b.

De nacione pilati et iude.

Without the usual proem 'Legitur in quadam historia licet apocrypha.' King Tirus, Pilate's father lives in a castle 'Berleking'. The tract ends early in the story of Judas with the words 'pedissequam capsulam fluc/

2. In R. 70 (no. 187) on f. 105 :

m.xx. hic denique presul Aelfuinus sub comite Thurkillo constituit regulam monachorum S. Eadmundi in monasterio & sub uoluntate licentiaque Cnutoni regis manet usque in presens. m.xxxii. hic sub Cnutono rege constructam basilicam beate memorie archipresul Aegelnothus consecravit in honore Christi et Sancte Marie sanctique Eadmundi.

Abbot Uvius is called Vuiges.

On the last page :

YMNVS DE SANCTA MARIA MAGDALENE AD UESP.

Electa Christi famula,
apostolorum apostola,
pastoris super humera
ouis uesta centesima.
Maria soror Lazari
rediuui quatridui,
compunctus cuius fletibus
celorum fleuit dominus.
Nardi pistici nectare
que summi regis ungere
digna fuisti uerticem
ut inuenires requiem.
Te cordis desiderio
toti precamur oleo
tuarum precum uulnera
reatus nostri medica.
Sit nato cum ingenito
parique sit paraclito
in unitate gracia
per infinita secula. Amen.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

I.

A passage from John de Oxenedes (Rolls Series, p. 17) shews that the first books possessed by Bury Abbey came from St Benet's of Hulme in Norfolk with the first Abbot (Uvius) and twelve monks.

Aluuinus Estanglorum episcopus coepit construere ecclesiam S. Aedmundi regis, ad quam media pars librorum et ecclesiasticorum ornamentorum a domo S. Benedicti est translata.

Words of the same effect occur also in the Register of St Benet of Hulme in the Cottonian Collection: they are printed in *Monast.* iii. 135.

II.

The riot of 1327. In a Register at Cambridge in the University Library (Registrum Pinchebeck, Ee. iii. 60) are copies of the *Placita Corone* referring to this catastrophe. On f. 65 is a list of the goods taken by the mob (repeated in Reg. Werketone, Harl. 638, *Monast.* iii. 109, note). The books specified are :

“xx missalia, xxiv portiforia, xii bibulas (i.e. Bibles), xx psalteria, x iornalia, semptem paria decretorum, x paria decretalium, et alios plures diuersa<rum> scientiarum et uoluminum.”

The number of the lost *Decreta* and *Decretalia* accounts in a measure for the entries of donations of books on Canon Law, which occur in the Douai Register. Very likely the clerical element among the rioters hated the Canon Law, and made these books a principal object of assault.

III.

In the *Monasticon* (iii. 114, 115 note) are printed two documents issued by Abbot William Curteys, taken from his Register (Brit. Mus. Add. 7096) which show very strikingly the interest he took in the Library of his monastery. It pleases me to think that there may have been a kind of

literary alliance between him and John Boston, and that we owe to it, perhaps, on the one hand Boston's *Catalogus*, and on the other the building of the new Library at Bury.

f. 182 b.

Item quia quidam confratrum nostrorum circa librorum ecclesiae nostrae custodiam et conseruationem eis studendi causa et non alias a praecentore siue quocunque confratre alio sibi in suo officio coniuncto accommodatorum se negligentes multociens exhibent et remissos: quorum confratrum aliquos comperimus dictae nostrae ecclesiae libros impignorasse, quosdam accommodauisse, unde a nobis et dicta nostra ecclesia perduntur imperpetuum, quosdamque pure uendidisse ac diuersis modis aliis personis extraneis et incognitis alienasse: quorum etiam librorum aliquos prece, aliquos pretio, aliquos laboribus grauibus et sumptibus excessiuis, interdumque magnis occupantium indignationibus recuperauimus et optimuimus, sicut plures posterius credimus optinere: Ut igitur huiusmodi insolentiae, absurditates, grauesque laesiones ab ecclesia nostra et confratribus nostris antedictis futuris temporibus repellantur: Nos Willielmus abbas monasterii S. Edmundi de Bury de confratrum nostrorum unanimi consensu et assensu, uolumus, statuimus, et ordinamus quod si aliquis dictorum confr. nost. claustralium quemcumque librum seu libros sibi a dicto praecentore uel eius consocio ratione praemissa accommodatum uel accommodatos impignorauerit, accommodauerit, uendiderit, seu quoquis modo alio, ut praefertur, alienauerit, titulumue alicuius libri deleuerit, per quod a notitia confratrum deuenire poterit, in poenam transgressionis huiusmodi claustrum non exeat, in refectorio continue prandeat, recreationis, munitionis, et omnibus aliis confratrum suorum recreationibus careat. Et quia predictae laesiones et transgressiones uel aliquae earum diu antequam ad notitiam dicti praecentoris uel ipsius consocii deueniunt fieri prout (l. potuerint), hoc ipso praemisso uel aliquod praemissorum committens maioris excommunicationis sententiam incurrat, donec huiusmodi transgressio et laesio iuxta arbitrium abbatis uel prioris fuerint emendatae. Confratres uero in Uniuersitatibus studentes si in predictis uel aliquo praemissorum culpabiles aut delinquentes reperti fuerint, seu eorum aliquis culp. aut del. rep. fuerit, ipso facto ad uniuersitatem seu studium ibidem exercendum efficiantur inhabiles et indigni, seu inhabilis efficiatur et indignus, ita quod, quam cito de laesione et transgressione huiusmodi abbatii constiterit, nulla habita mora ad claustrum reuocetur aut reuocetur, aliis poenis postmodum eis uel ei imponendis prout culpae qualitas exigit et requirit, dicente canone *Quos Dei timor a malo non reuocat, temporalis saltem poena ab appetitu coerceat*, etc. Ad haec ulterius adiuentes, quod si quaevis persona saecularis ab aliquo confratrum nostr. predict. librum aliquem ex commodato habuerit illumque postea ad usus suos appropriauerit, ipsius

titulum ut praemissum est delendo, <uel> de ecclesia seu aliquo eiusdem monasterii loco furtive auferendo, sit eciam ipso facto maioris excommunicationis uinculo innodatus.

This mandate sets forth that, whereas books belonging to the Abbey and given out by the precentor to the brethren for purposes of study (as prescribed by the Benedictine rule) had been lent, pledged, and even sold by the brethren; which books the Abbot had in some cases recovered (as he hoped to recover more) by request, by paying a fine for them, and with great trouble and expense, to the extreme resentment, sometimes, of their possessors, he therefore decrees that any brother who in future makes free with the books of the monastery shall be confined to the cloister, dine always in the refectory, and be deprived of all the relaxations and indulgences enjoyed by his fellows. And inasmuch as these depredations have often been only discovered long after their commission, the culprit is to be under the greater excommunication until the Abbot or Prior judge him to have atoned his fault. Further, those of the brethren who are studying at the Universities, if found guilty in this matter, are to be sent back at once to the monastery for further punishment. And lastly, if any secular person appropriate a book lent to him or steal one, he is subjected *ipso facto* to the greater excommunication.

f. 192 b.

Quaedam Monitio domini Abbatis facta suis confratribus, quod infra certum terminum omnes libros in eorum custodia remanentes ad eius praesentiam adducerent propter rationem infrascriptam sub poena suspensionis a divinis, etc.

Nos Willielmus Curteys permissione diuina abbas monasterii S. Edmundi de Bury ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis, monemus uos confratres nostros uniuersaliter singulos et singulariter uniuersos primo, secundo, tertio, et peremptorie, quatinus infra xv dies hanc nostram monitionem proximo et immediate sequentes, adducatis, portetis, siue exhibeatis, et quilibet uestrum adduc., port., siue exhib. ad nostram praesentiam omnes et singulos libros dicti nostri monasterii penes uos in uestra custodia remanentes sub poena suspensionis a diuinis: quorum quidem xv dierum v pro primo, v pro secundo, et v pro tertio ac peremptorio termino uobis et quilibet uestrum assignamus, quam quidem sententiam suspensionis in eum uel eos qui monitioni nostrae huiusmodi

infra terminum praenotatum, mora, culpa, uel negligentia praecedentibus non paruerit, sed ipsius nostra monitionis temerarius uiolator extiterit, nunc prout ex tunc et tunc prout ex nunc proferimus in hiis scriptis. Terminum uero adeo breuem et peremptorium propter bonum commune ecclesiae et omnium nostrorum, ac ut omnes et singuli libri dicti nostri monasterii unico loco simul deducantur (*i. ducantur*) duximus statuendum.

The gist of this monition is that within 15 days of the notice all Library books in the possession of the monks are to be produced before the Abbot under pain of suspension from divine offices. The object of giving so short a notice is the common good, and in order that the books may be brought together in one place.

I am very much inclined to connect these two documents, and particularly the second, with Abbot Curteys's construction of a special Library-building. Before his time there had no doubt been various collections of books in different places, cloister, refectory, church, etc. Now these were all to be united and brought into one building and one classification.

IV.

302. *Legenda Aurea.* xiv. Camb. Univ. Libr. Ee. vi. 31.
Exceptiones de Summa de casibus, etc.

A small book in double columns: ff. 311. Two volumes in one.

On f. 3 b is:

Liber domus sancti Edmundi ex dono venerabilis magistri Joannis Hanworth.

There is no press-mark: and I am rather inclined to doubt whether the 'domus S. Edmundi' is Bury Abbey.

V.

The *Liber Albus* (C. 68) contains a list of the books which were read in the Refectory at Bury during a cycle of three years.

f. 35 b.

Ordo legendi in mensa seruitorum in refectorio et ad collacionem conuentus per totum annum.

A Dominica i Aduentus vsque ad capud quadragesime leguntur *Pas-*

toralia (Gregory de cura pastorali). A capite quadragesime vsque ad diem cene *Ieronimus de abortacionibus patrum et dictis.* In die cene *Euangelium Iohannis* sc. *Ante diem festum.* In die paraseues *Sermo de cruce et latrone.* A vigilia pasche vsque ad trinitatem *Beda de sanctitate scripturarum.* A festo trinitatis vsque ad festum S. Egidii *Liber dialogorum Gregorii.* In ebdomade uero translacionis S. Benedicti legitur *Vita eiusdem cum miraculis.* A festo S. Egidii vsque ad aduentum domini *Yesidorus de summo bono.*

Item alio anno ab aduentu domini vsque ad caput quadragesime legitur *Speculum Gregorii.* A capite quadrag. vsque ad passionem *Liber Heraclidis qui dicitur Paradisus de uitis patrum.* A Dominica in passione vsque ad cenam domini *Omelia S. Effrem de compunctione et gloria.* In die cene et paraseues ut supra. A pascha vsque ad transl. S. Benedicti *Prosper de uita actiua et contemplatiua.* A transl. eiusdem vsque ad aduent. dom. *Liber S. Odonis de uiciis uirtutibusque anime.*

Item tertio anno ab adu. dom. vsque ad cap. quadrag. *Diadema monachorum.* A cap. quadrag. vsque ad cenam dom. *Jeronimus de uitis patrum.* In cen. dom. et parasc. ut supra. A pascha vsque ad Transl. S. Bened. *Hugo de clauistro anime.* A Transl. eiusdem vsque ad adu. dom. *Instituta et collaciones patrum.*

The volumes G. 6 (Gregory on Ezekiel) and P. 119 (Prosper) are marked as belonging to the refectory. The latter book has a note, agreeing with the above list, of the time when it was read.

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ON THE
ABBEY CHURCH
OF
S. EDMUND AT BURY.

THE process of collecting information about one part of the Abbey of Bury S. Edmund's, namely, the Library, has, in the natural course of things, constantly brought one in contact with documents which throw light upon the history of other parts of the same great establishment; and, in particular, of the Church. Thus it was that the nucleus of the following pages came to be formed: but the present proportions of it and of the appendix to it have been the result of afterthought to a great extent. It is really an attempt at a history of the Abbey Church from the documentary side. Of the extant remains of the building I have hardly said anything. It is, therefore, most desirable that the site of it should be thoroughly examined; and, if a systematic excavation could be undertaken, as a result of the publication of this book, I should be better repaid thereby for the pains I have spent upon it than by any other means. That many points could be definitely settled I have no doubt. From the lie of the ground I am inclined to believe that much of the crypt would be discovered, and that the sites of the Abbots' tombs in the Chapter-house (including that of Abbot Sampson) might be ascertained. It is not for me to suggest the immediate steps which ought to be taken in order to accomplish this very desirable end; but I venture to hope that some interest will be stirred by these researches, and that the advisability of

undertaking a further and more practical investigation will be felt by those who have the power of promoting it¹.

The architectural history of the Church of S. Edmund's Abbey at Bury has been treated by a good many writers. John Battely, D.D., Archdeacon of Canterbury, wrote the *Antiquitates S. Edmundi Burgi ad annum 1272 perductae*, printed after his death, in 1745. Gillingwater and Yates have written Histories of Bury; the latter's work, which would have been of considerable compass, was never completed. The collections for it are among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum. In 1772 a Mr King carried out some excavations on the site of the Church, and contributed an account of them, illustrated with a plan, to *Archaeologia* (vol. iii.). Sir James Burrough, Master of Gonville and Caius College, compiled some MS. *Collectanea Buriensia*, now the property of S. James's Parish at Bury; and early in the last century "honest Tom Martin," a Suffolk antiquary of repute, son of a Rector of Great Livermere (as is the present writer), also made collections on the history of the Monastery which are incorporated, at least in part, with those of Mr Yates.

In recent years the literature has grown: Samuel Tymms, the author of the standard *Guide to Bury*, did some useful work. Mr Gordon Hills contributed two most admirable articles on the subject to the twenty-first volume of the *Proceedings of the British Archaeological Association*. These articles, which are illustrated with plans and pictures, were largely used in an interesting pamphlet by E. M. Dewing, M.A., entitled *Saint Edmund's Bury: The Abbey Church and Monastery*, which was published at Bury in 1886. Lastly, in a recent Life of *St Edmund King and Martyr*, the Rev. Father Mackinlay, O.S.B., has a picturesque chapter (p. 352 sqq.), partly drawn from unpublished sources, upon the church and shrine of S. Edmund; while Mr Arnold, editor of the *Memorials of St Edmund's*

¹ This paper is illustrated by a plan (Plate xv) adapted from that by Mr Gordon Hills. My determination of the different chapels, altars, tombs, etc. is indicated upon it.

Abbey (Rolls Series), promises a study of the ichnography of the buildings in his concluding volume (i. 297, note). 51

The object of the present paper is to bring to light some new material which I have come upon illustrative of the internal decorations and arrangements of the Abbey Church, and of the burial-places of a good many of the Abbots of Bury. But it seems right that, before we plunge into a mass of details, we should attempt to make ourselves masters of the facts already known about the main features of the building we are to study. With the earlier church or churches which occupied the site of the Norman Abbey Church destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII. we will not now concern ourselves.

As to the Norman Church we have the following facts:

The eastern portion was built by Baldwin (formerly of S. Denis, third Abbot of Bury, 1065—1097). Under him two men filled the office of sacrist, namely, Thurstan and Tolinus; and it must be remembered that the sacrist was the officer who, more than any other, was concerned with the initiation and supervision of building-works in a monastery. The abbot might or might not be an enthusiastic builder; the sacrist ought to be. It is not often possible to tell how much in any given case was due to the influence of the superior officer, and how much to that of the inferior. In the case before us it is plain enough that Baldwin's was a potent influence. He and his sacrists built the choir of the church as far west as the two piers east of the central tower, constructed the crypt beneath, with its twenty-four pillars, and laid the foundations of the whole of the rest of the church, raising the walls to some height. In 1095 they translated the body of S. Edmund into the new building, and also those of two less important saints, Botulph and Jurmin (not Germanus or Firminus). The three shrines were covered with silver plates by the same workers. Of this eastern portion of the church it will be enough to say at present that it ended in an apse, out of which grew three chapels, also apsidal. The length of it, as paced by William of Worcester in the xvth century, was something

between 140 and 150 feet. The crypt measured about 100 feet by 80, according to the same authority.

Baldwin was succeeded by two abbots of the name of Robert. The first, who presided from 1100 to 1102, did nothing to the building; the second (1102—1112) continued Baldwin's work with energy and success, or perhaps merely allowed his sacrist Godefridus to do so. This Godefridus must have been a remarkable man; he is described as having been "of almost gigantic stature, great in body, but greater still in mind." This greatness of mind shewed itself in his enlarged scheme for the church. Baldwin had intended that the two western piers of his work should be the two eastern piers of the central tower. But Godefridus had larger ideas. He added a bay to the presbytery and widened the central alley by twenty-two inches (1' 10"). The four great piers of the central tower, fragments of which remain, are his work, and so also is a good part of the transept, in all probability; for we know that the ancient Church of S. Mary was pulled down in order to admit of the southern arm being built. This enlargement must have rendered useless the foundations of transept and nave, which, as we saw, were laid in Baldwin's time. Furthermore, he procured a great bell (or the great bell) for a large sum; so that the central tower must have risen to a considerable height in his time. Godefridus also finished the Chapter House and Infirmary, with other conventional buildings.

Two years' vacancy followed upon the death of Robert II., during which the crypt was dedicated to the Virgin by Ralph Bishop of Rochester, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury: the dedication was celebrated on the 5th of November in William of Worcester's time.

In Albold's abbacy (1114—1119) no work is recorded as having taken place. But in the time of Anselm his successor (1119—1148) enormous strides were made. His sacrists were Ralph and Herveus, "men of entire wisdom." To them we must attribute the building of the whole of the nave. In order to make room for it, they pulled down the Basilica of S. Denis which Baldwin had founded. It was rebuilt, and afterwards

called the Church of S. James. The tower of S. James's Church (now called the Norman Tower), the "Clocarium" with a peal of bells, and the Tower and Church of S. Mary were also constructed at this time. The extent of the great Norman nave which was now added to the Abbey Church may be gathered from William of Worcester's measurements. We saw that he reckons the part east of the central tower at 140—150 feet; the central tower itself extended over 40 feet more; the nave was something over 300 feet long. We see that Ralph and Hervey must have practically finished the whole length of the church, from the fact that they were in a position to construct the great western doors, of which more hereafter. Of these, and of the many chapels and altars dedicated by Anselm, I forbear to speak for the present.

The next abbot was Ordign (1148—1156), whose sacrist (and nephew) was Helyas. His chief work lay in restoring the conventional and domestic buildings which had been burnt, or damaged by fire, among them the Chapter House and Infirmary. To the Church he seems only to have contributed a "silver frontal for the high altar, and a great cross in the choir."

Hugo I. (1157—1180), the next abbot, was a bad husband to the Abbey, as we learn from Jocelin de Brakelond. It seems that in his time the saints Botulph and Jurmin were translated by Ralph the subsacrist; but no important building work is recorded of him or his sacrists.

However during the two years of vacancy which followed upon his death we hear for the first time of the activity of the man who soon succeeded him as abbot, namely Sampson, at this time subsacrist. "In those days the choir was erected, by Sampson's exertions, and he arranged the order of the paintings, and composed elegiac verses for them." We shall hear more of these paintings soon. Besides this work of decoration, Sampson finished one storey in the great tower at the west end. This was a western tower occupying a position similar to that of the western tower at Ely, immediately over the central western door. These were the achievements of Sampson as subsacrist. As abbot (1182—1211) he did more, in conjunc-

tion with his sacrist Hugo. The central western tower was finished and roofed with lead; the stone-work of the tower by S. Faith's Chapel (generally thought to be on the north of the western tower) was finished, and that by S. Katherine's Chapel (south of the western tower, as is thought) was partially built. Inside the church, the *pulpitum*, the choir screen, and the great rood, were finished. The abbot's throne was painted by one Symon. At a later time in Sampson's abbacy the Chapels of S. Katherine and S. Faith were newly roofed with lead, and many smaller improvements carried out in the church. Walter de Banham, Sampson's second sacrist, finished the tower by S. Faith's Chapel. We do not know when the other one, that by S. Katherine's, was finished. Walter de Banham also "renewed the whole fabric of the church," spent a large sum on a "tabula," which may have been either an altar-piece or a metal frontal, probably the former, for it is described as "super altari"; also on the "stone structure upon which the beam rests." Besides this, he renewed the plating and gilding of the great candlestick.

The church was now complete in its main parts, and only a few additions of any importance were made to it in succeeding centuries. Let us take stock of it at this point. It consisted of nave with aisles, transept with eastern aisle only, choir with aisles, ending in an apse with three apsidal chapels. At the west end were three towers, the largest in the centre, and the western front, which was some 250 feet broad, had polygonal terminations at north and south; whether these were towers or chapels is uncertain. The common view is that they were the chapels of SS. Katherine (S.) and Faith (N.). In this case, the two smaller western towers were probably close to the central one, and may have stood forward of it. There were also, it seems, two apsidal chapels at the west end, in the angles of the west front and aisle walls; and, further, a similar apsidal chapel on the east side of the north transept, and possibly another on the same side of the south transept¹.

¹ Our knowledge of these chapels is due to Mr King, who has laid down both on his plan, but recorded only the north-eastern one in his text.

We can, then, figure the huge building to ourselves clearly enough as a Norman church of great length (it was either 472 or 505 feet long), with a perfect grove of towers of varying heights; the character of the architecture grave and perhaps monotonous, except at the west end, where the Norman style must have given way, at any rate in the upper stages, to early English.

The largest addition made to the fabric after it had reached these dimensions was that of the Lady Chapel. The Norman church had, no doubt, its Lady Chapel, which is generally taken to have been the chapel at the eastern point of the apse: of this I shall have more to say. If it was not the easternmost chapel, it must have been the crypt, which, as we have seen, was dedicated in early times to the Virgin. However this may have been, Simon de Luton (or de Luyton), who had been first sacrist, then prior, and lastly, abbot from 1256 to 1279, determined to build a more splendid chapel in honour of the Virgin. Accordingly, he pulled down the old 'round chapel of S. Edmund' which stood in the angle between the north transept and choir, and in its stead built a Lady Chapel, about 70—80 feet long by 42 broad, of which the foundation stone was laid on July 1st, 1275, by Prior Robert. The position selected for the Lady Chapel is analogous to that occupied by the Lady Chapel at Ely, built some eighty years later. At Ely, however, there is a space between the main church and the Lady Chapel; at Bury the chapel abutted on to the north wall of the choir aisle. Several smaller chapels were added in later times to the church, e.g., one of S. Botulph somewhere in the south transept: but at present I am unable to fix the positions of these.

One experience common to Norman churches had to be gone through by S. Edmund's Church. The central tower fell in 1210, on a calm day, September 23. It was probably rebuilt in the next century by John Lavenham. In the Appendix (no. xx) will be found an account of the fall, which is at variance with the chroniclers in attributing the disaster to a high wind. Previous writers have generally thought that it was

the western tower that fell. Norman towers, and particularly central towers, had a very marked habit of falling down, and probabilities are in favour of the idea that it was the central tower that fell at Bury. The probability is increased by the fact that in 1430 and 1431 the western tower also fell. If it had already fallen and been rebuilt, the architects would most likely have taken strong precautions against a recurrence of the accident. The western tower fell, not all at once, but in two *reprises*, the south side on December 18, 1430, the east side on December 30, 1431. The northern and western sides were carefully taken down during 1432. The fall is attributed in Curteys's Register to the negligence of previous sacrists, or to the excessive ringing of the bells. William Curteys was abbot, and he took immediate steps to contract for a new tower. Legacies to the building are still heard of in 1500; so that the tower cannot have been standing many years when the dissolution came: we may think of it as a rich late Perpendicular erection, and probably very magnificent.

S. Edmund's Church was once completely gutted by fire, namely in the year 1465¹; and, besides this, it had already passed through another ordeal, which must have left terrible scars upon it, though we cannot tell the extent of the injuries which it suffered. I allude to the great riot of the year 1327, when the townspeople and villeins of the district assembled in their thousands and invaded the abbey, carrying off the abbot to Brabant, ravaging the outlying manors of the monks, and burning well-nigh the whole of the conventional and domestic buildings. The loss of property was assessed at £140,000. The accounts of the depredation speak of vestments and church plate being carried off, and of church windows being broken, but there is no hint that the church itself was seriously despoiled, nor that the shrine of the patron saint was interfered with. The rioters numbered many secular priests among them, and it seems that the whole force of their wrath was directed against the monks as monks and not as churchmen. Yet much

¹ See Appendix, no. xxi. I did not discover the record of the fire until after this paper had been sent to press.

wanton or accidental damage can hardly fail to have been done to paintings, glass, and carving, and restoration and renewal of the internal fittings must have been necessary.

A word as to the buildings immediately adjoining the church. The Chapter House was built, we have seen, by Godefridus, and repaired after a fire by Helyas—both in Norman times. The earliest Chapter House had been situated on what was afterwards the site of the Infirmary. The Chapter House which existed at the time of the Dissolution, however, was not a Norman building. It had been entirely reconstructed—pulled down and rebuilt—by Richard de Newport, who was sacrist from about 1213 to 1229 (under Hugh de Northwold). No doubt the Chapter House suffered in the riots, as the adjoining cloister certainly did. Of this we are told that the mob entered the cloister, broke up the *cistulae*, that is, the carrells, and the presses, and carried off the books and whatever else was found therein. So, too, they broke into the infirmary, and abused the sick monks very badly. The rebuilding of the cloister which, we shall see, took place in the fourteenth century, was no doubt rendered necessary in a great measure by the damage done in 1327. And, speaking generally, we may assert that a visitor to the abbey just before the Dissolution would have seen work chiefly of two periods—Norman in the church, and fourteenth century in the offices—nearly all of which must have been rebuilt after the riots.

We have two accounts of Bury written by visitors to it shortly before its destruction: one is technical, the other imaginative. I think they should both be quoted, as a fit conclusion to the first part of my paper, which deals with the broader facts in the history of the Church.

The first account is that given by William of Worcester, whose note-book is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College (MS. ccx), and has been printed by Nasmyth. His notes on Bury are almost confined to the measurements of various buildings, given in terms of his own paces. A pace of William of Worcester seems to be equivalent to about two feet, sometimes more, sometimes less. Battely gives the

average as two feet. But we must remember that it would be impossible to pace a building like the Abbey Church from one end to the other. There would be constant obstacles in the way of screens, railings, altars, columns, and so forth, particularly in and about the choir of the church; and the tendency of an accurate man would be, I think, to allow rather less than more space to the parts which he had not been able to measure. Consequently, I believe that the length of the Abbey Church was on the whole rather more than William's estimate.

I shall translate his text, which I have transcribed from the autograph, and collated with Nasmyth's printed edition: the Latin will appear in the Appendix. There are two sets of notes on Bury, representing two visits of our author.

I. The length of the great court within the precinct of the monastery of Bury 210 of my paces (= 420 feet).

The breadth of it 120 paces (240 feet).

The length and breadth of the square cloister of Bury contains on every side 80 of my paces (160 feet)¹.

[The measurements of S. James's and S. Mary's Churches follow. They may be omitted here, but will be given in the Appendix.]

The length of the nave of the Monastery Church at Bury contains 150 of my paces (300 feet).

The length of the great tower in the midst of the nave of the Church, counting from the above number of 150 paces, contains 20 paces (40 feet).

[This tower had to be paced separately, perhaps because of the intervention of screens.]

The breadth of the southern arm of the Church from the foot of the tower [i.e. from the piers] to the south door contains 43 paces (86 feet).

The length of the choir from the eastern foot of the said tower to the Chapel of S. Mary contains 70 paces (140 feet).

And so the whole of the Monastery Church with choir and tower contains 240 of my paces (480 feet).

[It is not clear whether the length of the eastern Chapel of S. Mary is included in this calculation.]

The length of the Chapel of S. Mary on the north side of the choir, where Thomas Beauford lies buried, contains 40 paces (80 feet).

The breadth of it contains 21 paces (42 feet).

The length of the Chapter House contains 50 paces (100 feet).

¹ For another measurement of the cloister see *post*.

The breadth of it 20 paces (40 feet).

The length of the frayter [refectory] contains eight score and eleven feet (171 feet) or ninety paces (180 feet): the breadth 21 paces (42 feet).

The breadth of it twenty paces (40 feet).

The length of the crypt, [that is] the Chapel of S. Mary, beneath the shrine of S. Edmund, contains 50 paces (100 feet).

The breadth of it contains 40 paces (80 feet): here is a fair spring of water.

The dedication of the said crypt of S. Mary is on the fifth day of November; and in the said space are 24 columns.

II. In the year of Christ 1479. The Church of Bury: In the month of May.

The length of the Church of S. Edmund of Bury contains 240 paces, viz., from the Chapel of S. Mary to the western door.

The breadth of the nave of the Church contains 46 paces (92 feet) with the two aisles.

The breadth of the choir with the two aisles contains 42 paces (84 feet).

The length of the Chapter House contains 60 paces (120 feet).

The breadth of it contains 20 paces (40 feet).

The length of the great court contains 240 paces (480 feet).

The breadth of it (*blank*).

The length of the cloister contains on the west side 90 paces (180 feet).

[Then follows the epitaph of Thomas Brotherton and a note on S. Robert of Bury: see Appendix.

This second set of notes is in the nature of correction or amplification of the first.]

My second account of Bury is the often-quoted panegyric of John Leland, the King's antiquary, who visited the Abbey in search of ancient books and records on the very eve of its Dissolution. As it is next to impossible to find any passage whatever in Leland's works, either by reference to an index or by any process of conjecture, I will be particular in giving the reference here: we must turn to the second edition of the Itinerary, by Thomas Hearne, published in 1744. There, in Leland's Commentary on his own poem, the *Cygnea Cantio*, Vol. ix. pp. 50, 51, we shall find what we want. The Commentary is really an alphabetical list of the places mentioned in the poem; and some account of each is appended. The names are often very obscure: Bury S. Edmund's appears as *Curia* (which is meant for a translation of *Bury*). I will render Leland's swelling Latin into literal English.

“Why need I in this place,” he says, “extol Bury at greater length? This only will I add, that the sun does not shine on a town more prettily situated—so delicately does it hang on a gentle slope, with a little stream flowing eastward (*or on the east side*)—nor on an Abbey more famous, whether we regard its endowments, its size, or its magnificence. You would aver that the Abbey was a town in itself; so many gates has it,—and some of them are even of bronze,—so many towers, and a Church surpassed by none, under whose shadow, in the same churchyard, stand three more of the most excellent design. The streamlet, which I just now mentioned, flows through the midst of the Abbey precinct, gaining access thereto by a double bridge vaulted over it.”

Nothing can ever replace before our bodily eyes what Leland saw; but it will be possible for me to-night to tell you something of the lost glories of the great Abbey Church, and something about the sepulchres of its great men.

Two manuscripts have supplied me with the bulk of the new facts. The first and most important is a volume belonging to the College of Arms (no. xxx in Young’s privately-printed catalogue of the Arundel collection preserved there). It is a MS. of miscellaneous contents, written in the xivth and xvth centuries. It contains *inter alia* a xvth century copy of Nennius’s *Historia Britonum*, and a xivth century copy of a chronicle which embodies, I believe, the work of the monks of Bury, John de Taxter and John Everisden; the latter was cellarer in 1300.

The fly-leaves of this book are made up partly of palimpsest leaves of a large quarto copy of the Aeneid, written in the xith century in an English hand, one leaf of the original making two leaves in the present volume; only the scantiest remains of the older writing are left. But upon these leaves, and upon other blank pages and margins in the volume, some one in the early part of the xivth century has copied down a large collection of verses which he had seen inscribed upon wall paintings, altar-pieces, painted windows, tapestries, and sculptures, in various churches in England. Peterborough, S. Mary’s Abbey at York, Flixton and Framlingham in Suffolk, Lincoln, Spald-

ing, and Westminster, are all laid under contribution; but by far the greater number of verses are taken from the Abbey Church and other buildings at Bury S. Edmund's. These verses, of course, shew us what were the subjects represented in various parts of the Abbey; and incidentally they furnish us with a good deal of information about the topography and arrangement of the Church.

My other manuscript source is a Register of S. Edmund's Abbey which is preserved in the Public Library of the town of Douai. It belonged to the English College there, and came into its present resting-place, no doubt, at the Revolution. It is a xvth century book, written, as far as I can judge, in the same hand as another Register compiled by Brother Andrew Astone in or about 1424, which is known as the *Registrum Hostilariae*, and is now in the Cottonian Collection (Claud. A. xii). The Douai Register, which I should propose to call the *Registrum Coquinariae*, since it deals principally with the kitchen department of the Monastery, contributes a very full list of Benefactors to S. Edmund. From this list I have extracted everything I could find that throws light on the topography or date of the Church and principal buildings; and by its help I shall be able to point out to you the places where eighteen of the Abbots of S. Edmund lie buried.

Perhaps the best way in which I can present the very scattered pieces of information I have to deal with will be to put them in the form of an itinerary: that is, to suppose that the Abbey is still standing in its completeness, and that we are going to pay a visit to it in search of objects of antiquarian or artistic interest.

We approach it through the great gate of the cemetery—the “Norman Tower,” as it is called,—which now serves as a campanile to S. James's Church. Above the door by which we enter is a sculpture of our Lord in glory, probably surrounded by the emblems of the Four Evangelists. This work existed down to the year 1788, when it was removed in order to provide “a freer access for loads of hay and straw.” The tower stands at most a hundred yards from the west front of the Abbey

Church, which faces us immediately. Here, the first thing that we notice, after taking in the main features of the front—the three towers, the three porches and the four chapels—, is the double bronze door of the Church, in the central portal. There can hardly have been such another in the kingdom. It was the work of Magister Hugo, made in the abbacy of Anselm (1121—1148), when Ralph and Hervey were sacrists: and we hear that Hugo “as in his other works he surpassed every one else, so in the making of these gates did surpass himself.” The Douai Register tells us that Anselm had these gates made ‘arte fusoria,’ of cast work, I suppose. Doors of this material, and of just this date, whether of cast or hammered work, are very common features in Italy. Beneventum, Trani, Monte Cassino, Pisa, Ravello, and many other churches possess them; and, when I couple this consideration with another, namely, that Abbot Anselm came from Rome (he had been Abbot of S. Saba on the Aventine—a fact which had its results at Bury), I am inclined to conjecture that he brought Hugo with him from Italy, and that the Bury gates were of Italian work, possibly consisting of a number of small panels with reliefs from the New Testament history. I suppose, moreover, that Leland’s assertion that ~~some of the~~ gates of the abbey were of bronze may be taken to indicate that Hugo’s work survived down to the Dissolution.

We enter the Church, past two ~~chapels~~ on our right and two on our left. As I have said, two of them belonged to S. Katherine and S. Faith. Mr Gordon Hills assigns another to S. Denis, the apsidal chapel adjoining the south aisle. I prefer to put it on the north; it is certain that S. Faith’s chapel was above it. The chapel of S. John Baptist was the fourth. Of the decoration of these chapels we know nothing.

We are now in the nave, which, architecturally, is twelve bays long; this we know from the present remains of it, and also, perhaps, from the lists which occur in several of the Registers of the number of candles allowed for different parts of the Church on great festivals. The nave has twenty-four candles. In the south aisle we encounter a long range of painted windows,

probably single lights of Norman work, twelve in number, and resembling those in the south aisle at Ely. They are described as being "at the altar of S. Nicholas, and along the nave of the Church on the south side." S. Nicholas had a chapel in the south transept. Hence I incline to believe that the later windows of the series were near his altar, and that the series begins at the west end of the Church and runs up to the south transept. The first of these illustrated the Life of S. John Baptist. The Baptistry was probably at the south-west angle of the Church, under the chapel of S. Katherine. In the remainder of the windows the Life of Christ was treated at great length. The Nativity was the first subject; then the episodes of the Temptation, the Marriage at Cana, the Woman of Samaria, and, above all, the Raising of Lazarus, were fully illustrated. The series—or at least the extant account of it—ends abruptly with the Bearing of the Cross. Sixty-seven subjects are given in the MS.: perhaps a few may have dropped out. The small Passion-window mentioned under No. 18 in the Appendix on the Heralds' College MS. may possibly be connected with this series.

Of the north aisle and its windows nothing is told us. Very probably the windows towards the west were left plain to admit more light; and further east, the Cloister, which was probably rebuilt as a two-storied building, may have blocked up the openings. For at Bury, it must be remembered, the Cloister, and indeed all the monastic buildings, lay north and east of the Church. On the south was only the cemetery, which was of very ancient date, reaching back to the days of the secular priests who preceded the monks as guardians of S. Edmund's body. Somewhere in the north aisle, nearer east than west, was a door into the Cloister, and, somewhere near that again, an image of the Virgin. Two Abbots, Thomas de Tottington (1301—1312) and Richard de Draughton (1312—1335), were buried in front of this image. There was also an image of S. Christopher in this aisle.

Whether the nave clerestory windows had painted glass in them or not is nowhere stated. It is on the whole unlikely:

but at least it is clear to my mind that the pictures inscribed with verses, which I have placed in the south aisle, must have been near the eye, and consequently pretty low down—not in the clerestory.

The roof of the nave was richly painted in the xivth century under John Lavenham, sacrist, who spent £100 on it: the roof of the choir had already been painted; but what the system of decoration in either part of the Church was, we are not told, though it is possible that we do possess a record of the paintings on the choir roof.

Further than this we have no particulars of the interior of the nave and aisles; but we know that there were fourteen altars in the Church exclusive of those in the Choir and eastern Chapels; so we may allot four of these to the four western Chapels, and suppose a few more to have been situated in the body of the Church.

Fronting us as we walk eastward is the choir screen or *pulpitum*, surmounted by the great rood and the figures of the Virgin and S. John. This screen must have projected some way into the nave—how far we cannot tell. So that of the twelve bays I mentioned above possibly only nine or ten were free, and not encroached upon by the Choir. The screen will have been a solid stone erection; and, besides crossing the Church, it must have extended backwards on each side in the direction of the high altar, forming a solid backing to the choir stalls, which probably extended under the central tower.

The screen, and rood or crucifix upon it, with its attendant statues, was one of the works of Hugo, Abbot Sampson's sacrist.

The choir-enclosure, of which this *pulpitum* was the west front, is in some ways a puzzle. Jocelin de Brakelond tells us, in words which I have quoted¹, of its erection in Sampson's time, and of the pains which Sampson took in settling the subjects of the paintings for it, and composing elegiac verses to be inscribed thereupon. This was when he was subsacrist, before 1182. But the Douai Register tells us that Abbot John I. (de Northwold, 1279—1301) "had the choir made and painted by the

¹ See above, p. 120.

hands of a certain monk of his, John Wodecroft, a painter of our Lord the King." This looks like a very radical piece of 'restoration' on the part of Abbot John de Northwold; but I cannot help suspecting that what he did is described in rather exaggerated terms in the Register. It seems unlikely that all Sampson's paintings would have been wiped out and others substituted barely a century after his time. Northwold's restoration may have been confined to the inside of the choir-enclosure, or to the stall-work. Father Mackinlay seems to attribute the painting of the choir roof to Wodecroft, which would explain the difficulty; yet nothing that I have seen gives actual ground for this hypothesis. But let us see what particulars we have of the manner in which the choir-enclosure was ornamented.

The longest series of verses given in the Heralds' College MS. is said to have been inscribed "in and round the choir"—*In choro et circa*. It comprises no less than ninety subjects: all are taken from the Book of Genesis, and they extend from the Creation of Adam to the Blessing of Joseph's two sons by Jacob. Now, this long series of Biblical subjects savours of rather an early date. This cannot be proved, yet it goes for something. Again, if I am not mistaken, the verses themselves belong rather to the twelfth century than to a period late in the thirteenth. In fact my impression,—for it is hardly more,—is that these verses belong to Sampson's paintings, and that they were on the north and south outer wall of the choir-enclosure. In the Cathedral of Toledo a long series of subjects from Genesis and Exodus occupies just this position; at Notre Dame in Paris a series of New Testament subjects is sculptured in this position; at Chartres is a similar series of much later date; at Amiens four portions of a like historiated screen remain; at Albi the enclosure, or *jubé*, is surrounded by statues of prophets, sibyls, and patriarchs; at Carlisle, the legends of saints are painted upon the wooden stall-backs. So that we have good ground for supposing that a continuous series of subjects adorned the outside of the choir-enclosure at Bury; and we can be almost certain that there was no continuous series *inside* the choir; for the MS. gives a good many verses which were worked or

painted upon various *dorsaria* (i.e. hangings) which were at the back of the stalls. It is not impossible that these *dorsaria* were painted cloths, and that John Wodecroft was the artist: they were certainly very elaborate compositions. The following are described:

On the Abbot's side (the south, as we should say, the *Decani* side) was one which represented the Parable of Dives and Lazarus in five or six scenes, and the Miracle at Cana.

Above the Abbot's seat itself were four lines of a moral nature, containing a warning against Pride.

Two more *dorsaria* are described, whose position I can only guess at. One is the "hanging beyond the Door of the Relics," and the other is "next to the last-mentioned." Whether these were at the side of the High Altar, or else on the north or south side where the stalls came to an end, I cannot guess. The first had sixteen scenes, from the Annunciation to Pentecost; the other had the Birth and Sacrifice of Isaac.

A third *dorsarium* has a still more puzzling name. It is called *dorsarium Ezechielis*. It may have hung near a statue or painting of the prophet Ezekiel, or there may have been a series of large figures of prophets and apostles somewhere within the choir. This *dorsarium* had on it a picture of Christ as Judge.

Besides this we know that there were in the choir, near the Abbot's throne, carvings of some of S. Edmund's miracles. One at least of these, concerning some horses which were stolen from the Abbey and taken to Ely, was accompanied with an explanation in verse, which is given in an Oxford MS. written at the monastery¹.

So much for the decorations of the choir-enclosure, without and within. We will now look at the other furniture and fittings. The stalls must come first: Leland is reported in various books as saying that he saw eighty stalls in the choir. This is probably quite true, but I am totally unable to find the place where he says it. The description of the hangings (*dorsaria*) makes it improbable that the stalls were canopied.

¹ Bodl. 240, *Memorials*, ii. 362.

The roof of the choir was painted. Robert of Graveley, sacrist in Sampson's later years, besides renewing the wooden roof of the nave, had the roof beyond S. Edmund's shrine decorated with various pictures. John Lavenham, already mentioned as sacrist in the fourteenth century (probably after the riots) paid, as we are told, £100 "for the continuing of the cieling and painting of the nave after the fashion of the presbytery, and a further sum of £12. 13s. 4d. for the painting of a *furnus* (I suppose a conical canopy, or perhaps the wooden cover of the shrine); as well as a sum for making glass windows of the new pattern in the vaults about S. Edmund." This last entry must mean that the single Norman lights were replaced by traceried windows in the apse.

Next, as to the altars in the choir. There were two, the choir altar, and the high altar. Abbot Baldwin, the builder of this part of the Church, is said in the Douai Register to be buried "in the presbytery, near the wall behind the small altar in the choir." This expression "near the wall," which is a new detail, is also a puzzling one. It would seem, from other records, that Baldwin lay in the midst of the choir. So say the Annals (*Memorials*, i. 352) "in medio choro." Hence it is unlikely that the wall was any kind of lateral partition. Then, again, one cannot imagine that a wall ran across the choir in front of the high altar, for the choir altar was undoubtedly itself west of the other. I am reduced at present to supposing that there was some masonry immediately behind the choir altar supporting the retable perhaps, and extending but very little, if at all, beyond it on either side. East of this, in the centre of the alley, was Baldwin's tomb. In the fourteenth century, Thomas Rudham, who may have been subsacrist, was a principal contributor to making an alabaster tomb for Baldwin, and placing a candelabrum on it. The only other abbot, by the way, who lay west of the high altar, was John de Northwold, who was buried "in front of the small altar," with his feet, of course, eastward.

At this point we have to discuss the cross in the choir. Helyas, Ording's sacrist (cir. 1150), "had the cross in the choir

and Mary and John incomparably carved by the hands of Master Hugo" (the artist who made the bronze doors). This must not be confused with the great rood which the *sacrist* Hugo put up in Sampson's time. In the Heralds' College MS. two sets of verses are given, which I connect with this point. One is "on a cloth before the cross in the choir," which seems to have had painted upon it Christ in majesty, with angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, and a representation of Earth, Sea, and Sky beneath his feet. The other is taken from "the beam beyond (i.e. eastward of) the small altar." This had thirteen subjects from the Passion painted or carved on it, from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Incredulity of S. Thomas.

We get some light upon these matters, the cross, the cloth, and the beam, from Jocelin. His account of the fire which came so near destroying S. Edmund's shrine is particularly instructive here. We shall have to anticipate slightly a few matters connected with the shrine.

Just east of the high altar, filling up the space between it and the shrine, was once a wooden platform which had a couple of candles burning on it. On the night of Oct. 17, 1198, this wooden structure caught fire, and some mischief was done to the stone basement and silver plating of the shrine. It providentially happened, however, that the "*great beam which used to be beyond the altar*" had been taken away in order to be adorned with fresh carving. It also happened that the *cross and small image of S. Mary and of S. John*¹, the box containing the shirt of S. Edmund, the reliquaries, and other shrines which usually hung from the beam or stood on it, were all away; otherwise they would certainly all have been burnt, as the *painted cloth*, which was hanging in place of the beam, actually was burnt. What would have been the result had the Church been hung with curtains?" Further on we read that Sampson had the space between the shrine and the high altar

¹ Another passage in Jocelin (*Memorials*, i. p. 212) speaks of a cross, and small images of Mary and of John, given by Abp Stigand, which stood on the high altar; but his words rather imply that these were sold in 1176. The passage complicates the whole question.

filled up with solid masonry, to prevent a recurrence of the accident. So far Jocelin. When we turn to the often-quoted *Gesta Sacristarum*, we find that Walter de Banham, sacrist to Sampson, finished the "retable over the altar in the choir, and the mass of masonry on which the *beam* rests." Later, Edmund de Brundish in the fourteenth century gave two tables or pictures to the altar in the choir.

From these passages I conclude that the small altar in the midst of the choir had a retable, supported by some stone-work, that immediately east of this Baldwin was buried, that Master Hugo's cross and images stood on a great carved beam over the high altar (or perhaps *on* the high altar), and that either sometimes or always, a painted cloth hung from this beam, below the cross.

The retable on the high altar is an obscure point. Helyas, Ordign's sacrist, had one made of silver, of the value of 100 marks. But this, Jocelin tells us (*Memorials*, i. 297), was sold with many other ornaments to recover the manor of Mildenhall, and ransom King Richard I. We are expressly told that Sampson would not replace it; which makes it more likely that Walter de Banham's retable was not meant for the high altar. Abbot Richard de Insula began a silver-gilt retable for the high altar, and I have descriptions of several, one of which may be his.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the high altar, and probably to one side, stood the great candlestick¹, which corresponded, I suppose, to the "Pasch," as it was called, at Durham, and held the Easter light. A noble specimen of such a candlestick is now in Milan Cathedral; and I have been told that it is very possibly the actual one from Durham. Of the Bury candlestick I gather from the verses inscribed on it that it had figured upon it the Creation and Fall of Adam and Eve, subjects which also appear on the one at Milan. Walter de Banham renewed the silver plating of it. On great feast days it burnt seven candles of four pounds each. This great candlestick had a *tabula* in front of it, on which were representations

¹ It perished in the fire of 1465.

of wicked Monks, Usurers, Lawyers, and their future punishment, of the Five Works of Mercy, and of the Last Judgment. This was probably a large painting on panel.

We now pass the high altar (just east of the central tower) and find ourselves in the presbytery, where the shrine of S. Edmund lies. Of this shrine, "very comberous to deface" as the Commissioners found it, we have pictures, some of which have been more than once reproduced: last in Father Mackinlay's *Life of St Edmund*. These pictures all occur in the copy of Lydgate's metrical Life of S. Edmund and S. Fremund which he presented to Henry VI. This is now Harl. MS. 2278. The shrine appears ten or eleven times. It is of the usual type, a chest of wood covered with metal plates (silver-gilt in this case), and shaped like a church without a tower. In some of the pictures of it there are four canopied figures in the panels on each side, crosses on the angles, and rings at the ends. In others, gold equestrian figures appear near it, and there are statues (four on a side) above those on the panels. Elsewhere, it is surrounded with an elaborate metal railing; and, when represented *in situ*, it stands on a richly-carved base of marble, coloured green, on a purple plinth. So much for the pictures, which were probably painted at Bury. From the documents, and particularly from Jocelin, we learn that on one end (that next to the high altar) there was a "majesty" in gold, that is, a relief or image of Christ in glory, and that Abbot Sampson added a gold cresting to the shrine, instead of spending money on a retable to the altar, because the shrine was inviolable, and the retable might have to be sold. The splendid twelfth century shrine of S. Eleutherius at Tournai will give us a very fair idea of what S. Edmund's shrine was like. The offerings which hung upon the shrine, or were displayed near it, were, of course, many in number, and magnificent in quality. For instance, Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, is said in the Douai Register and elsewhere to have given a gold cross value 66*s. 8d.*, which stood "on the top of the shrine of S. Edmund"; also another gold cross with jewels, "which hung on the right side of the shrine, and farther, a carbuncle which was placed at the foot of the said

cross." The shrine was lighted on great feasts by four candles of three pounds each and 24 of one pound each: The four large candles were always burning.

At the feet of S. Edmund (that is, at the east end of the shrine) was a chest or shrine containing the bones of Abbot Leofstan (the second abbot, 1044—1065), the monk Egelwin or Ailwin, who guarded the sacred body and was S. Edmund's ambassador to Sweyn, and a devout woman Oswen. This shrine stood "between the tops of two columns at the foot of the shrine."

Somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood were the altars and the shrines of S. Thomas, S. Botolph, and S. Jurmin, the martyred son or brother of King Anna, translated from Blythburgh. The first and third were plated with silver by Baldwin's sacrists. About the shrine of S. Edmund were various rich hangings and carvings, embroidered or painted, of two of which we have descriptions. One (perhaps a window or a carving) had six subjects representing the concourse of pilgrims to the shrine, and the story of Sweyn, Canute's father. The story of Sweyn's death redounded more than anything else to S. Edmund's glory; it set forth how Sweyn tried to exact tribute from the Saint's lands, how he withstood the prayers of the monk Egelwin, and how Edmund appeared and smote him with a lance so that in a short time he died.

The other, which was certainly a hanging, had eleven pictures from the Life of S. Edmund, ending with a large composition, as it seems, again representing the death of Sweyn.

The eastern extremity of the Church had three apsidal chapels. The dedications of these are a matter of uncertainty. One was S. Saba's, which had been dedicated and adorned with painting by Anselm, formerly Abbot of S. Saba's at Rome. It was most likely the only chapel of this Saint in England. It is very frequently mentioned in one of the Custumaries (Harl. 3977), as the place where novices were instructed, and where they were veiled on their admission; and it is definitely stated to have been the northernmost of the three apses. The central apse must almost certainly have been at first the Chapel of the

Virgin. Such a Chapel is almost universally found in this position, and there must have been a Lady Chapel in the original Norman Church. Moreover in the Heralds' College MS. there is a description of painted windows in the Old Chapel of the Virgin, and William of Worcester measures the length of the Church "up to the Chapel of S. Mary." But it is possible that when Simon de Luton built the Lady Chapel on the north of the choir the dedication of the old Chapel was changed to that of "the Martyrs." In favour of this is an entry in the list of candles provided for the Church on feast-days:

"Item for S. Saba and the Martyrs and the Cross, three candles of a pound each."

Judging from this, the northern Chapel will be S. Saba's, the central that of the Martyrs, and the southern that of the Cross.

There is another *datum* which can be made to throw some light on the arrangement of the eastern Chapels. In an ancient catalogue of the Library of the Abbey (see above, p. 23 sqq.) we have these entries:

- lxxv. Missale ad sanctum Martinum.
- lxxvi. Missale ad crucem.
- lxxvii. Missale ad martyres.
- lxxviii. Missale ad sanctam Sabam.

The order seems to be taken from south to north: and in that case we should have

- (1) S. Martin's altar or chapel in the south-east limb of the choir-aisle.
- (2) S. Cross, the south-east apsidal chapel.
- (3) The Martyrs, the eastern apsidal chapel.
- (4) S. Saba (as we know from other sources) the north-eastern chapel.

Where then is the Chapel of the Virgin? for the Catalogue we are using is certainly much earlier than Luton's Lady Chapel. I think it not unlikely that the eastern apse was dedicated both to the Virgin and the Martyrs. At Norwich there is evidence tending to show that the north-east apse (now the Jesus Chapel) was formerly the Martyrs' Chapel. I hope that some reader will try to elucidate this problem for me¹.

¹ See Appendix, No. vii.

The Chapel of the Cross presents us with some questions. In the *Liber Albus* (Harl. 1005), a very important Register, we read :

“The altar of S. Peter in the front of the Church at the feet of S. Edmund [hence at the east end] was dedicated when Baldwin was prior, but it is not known by whom. But the Holy Cross which was set up in that place is very holy and ancient. Some say it was there before the monks’ time; others, that Abbot Leofstan, when he went to Rome, had it made according to the measure of the Cross of Lucca.” This was the crucifix carved by Nicodemus, and commonly called the Holy Face of Lucca, by which William Rufus used to swear. I learn from Father Mackinlay’s Life of S. Edmund the interesting fact that the Chapter Library of Lucca preserves two MSS. of Abbo’s Life of the Saint—traces, no doubt, of Leofstan’s visit to Lucca. Here again, then, seems to have been a change of dedication for the southern apsidal chapel. At first dedicated to S. Peter, the facsimile of the Lucca Cross was placed there at a later time. But there is more to come. The *Liber Albus* also tells us: “the altar of the Holy Cross behind the choir was dedicated by Alberic, Bishop of Ostia (legate in King Stephen’s time), and the dedication took place on the Vigil of S. Edmund.” Anselm was at Rome at the time. “The great cross itself, however, which was prepared by Gaufrid the sacrist (under Robert II.) by the hand of Wohancus the painter, with many and great relics disposed in the back thereof by Gaufrid, had been dedicated long before by Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of Abbot Robert.” It was said to have done miracles, and to have split itself out of the wood when being made. From the way in which the Lucca Cross and Gaufrid’s Cross are described, there is clearly no question of identifying them: nor can either of them be the same as Magister Hugo’s rood, which I have already described. I think it likely that the Lucca Cross and Gaufrid’s were both in the southern apsidal chapel, one perhaps being placed over the altar, the other at the side.

In or near the eastern Chapel of the Virgin was a window

illustrating the life of S. Martin; and an altar of S. Martin was among those dedicated by John Bishop of Rochester for Abbot Anselm. At Ely S. Martin's chapel or altar was in the south choir aisle. I rather suspect that at Bury it was south of the Chapel of the Cross.

Further than this I know nothing of the eastern part of the Church, except that the Presbytery seems to have had seventeen windows, thirteen in the clerestory, and four in the aisle: seventeen candles of a pound each are allowed for lighting them.

We now retrace our steps to the transept. According to William of Worcester, one arm of the transept was 43 paces (about 86 feet) long; the central tower may be taken as about 40 feet broad. The whole transept therefore, according to this calculation, would be 212 feet broad. It was really, I believe, rather more. Each arm of the transept had an eastern aisle, and was three bays long. There would be room then for three chapels in each arm. Mr King's excavations in 1772 showed traces of an apsidal chapel at the north-east angle. On the north, it must be remembered, was the entrance to Simon de Luton's Lady Chapel. There may, then, have been but one or two chapels in the north arm, and three in the south. The number of candles allowed for lighting the transept was twenty-six, of one pound each.

It is very difficult to locate and assign the transeptal chapels. The Heralds' College MS. helps a little. Some verses are given: first, from "the windows round the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist at the gate of the crypt"; next, "concerning S. Nicholas"; then, "in the Chapel of the Black Hostelry." In the same MS., a later entry gives some instructive details in these words: "Note that the cemetery of the monks formerly surrounded the whole of the presbytery wherein S. Edmund now lies, namely, from the door of the crypt on the north, where the Chapel of S. Mary is now situated, to the front of the Chapel of S. Nicholas and S. John the Evangelist on the south side, where is now the Chapel of S. Botolph and the garden of the keepers of the shrine." The question here is whether the crypt door can have been on the outside of the Church, or, as I think

more likely, whether it was not rather in the choir-aisle. In this latter case, the Chapel of S. John and S. Nicholas (whether there were two or one is not clear) was northernmost in the south transept. Over it, in the triforium, was the Chapel of S. Giles, consecrated by Geoffrey Bishop of S. Asaph, for Abbot Ording.

The Chapel of the Black Hostelry was most likely one in which Benedictine (or Black) monks from other houses who were guests at the abbey might celebrate mass. The verses from the windows of these chapels describe twenty-two scenes in the life of S. John, a few from that of S. Nicholas, a couple from the life of Christ; and, in the Chapel of the Black Hostelry, some from the Revelation.

What and where was the Chapel of S. Botolph in the south transept? Father Mackinlay, in a rough plan of the Church, puts a large chapel in the angle of the south transept, corresponding to the Lady Chapel on the north, and calls it the Chapel of S. Andrew. This is certainly an incorrect dedication, for S. Andrew's was a detached chapel in the cemetery, nor do I know of any evidence that a chapel existed in this position. But it is likely enough that S. Botolph's Chapel stood here. All that I have found of it is, that John de Northwold "constructed" it. The shrine-keepers' garden seems to have been near it. Very probably the saint's body was translated there, but I think it more likely that only his arm (which is mentioned as a separate relic in a *Rituale*, MS. Harl. 2977) was kept there, and that the larger shrine remained with SS. Edmund and Jurmin in the presbytery.

It will be now directly in our way to enter the crypt. We have seen¹ that it was of considerable size, about 100 feet by 80, and that it contained 24 pillars and a fine spring. It was dedicated by Ralph Bishop of Rochester, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a great favourer of Bury; and the dedication-feast was on the fifth of November. It must have been a Norman crypt, being part of Baldwin's work, but I have no description of its ornaments. That it could be entered from

¹ See above, p. 125.

the cloister side (i.e. on the north), as well as from the south, is abundantly clear from the Harleian *Rituale*.

Of the north transept I have little to tell. Doubtless there was an entrance here from the dormitory, to admit the monks into the Church for the night-services. Very likely, too, the Sacristy adjoined this part of the Church. But from the north transept we enter Simon de Luton's Lady Chapel (cir. 80 x 42 feet): and of this we have some more particulars. The Heralds' College MS. has copies of inscriptions under the following headings:

“The following verses are contained in several places in paintings and glass-windows in the Church of S. Edmund.

1. At the altar of S. Mary in the first, second, third, fourth,...eighth medallions.
2. Around the Majesty.
3. On the wall.
4. On the tabula or frontal before the altar.
5. On the same frontal around the Majesty.
6. On the great cross in the retable on the altar in the first, second, third medallions.
7. On the frontal (tabula) before the altar.
8. On the vaulting: four medallions.
9. In a window in the same place.
10. In the glass at the altar of S. Nicholas and along the nave of the Church on the south side.”

Some of these inscriptions must, I think, belong to the Lady Chapel on the north of the Church; others I rather incline to assign to the altar-piece of the High altar and the roof of the Choir. But the *data* in the MS. do not give any sure clue to the localities. I will briefly enumerate the subjects which we find represented.

At the altar of the Virgin, either painted on the wall or wrought on a retable or frontal, were eight medallions: (1) the unveiling of the Synagogue, (2) Aaron's rod and the Vines of Jericho and the Annunciation, (3) Righteousness and Peace meeting and the Visitation, (4) The Coronation of the Virgin,

(5) The Nativity, (6) The Burning Bush, (7) The sign given to Ahaz, (8) Gideon's Fleece.

Then there was a Majesty and a representation of the Lord and the Blessed.

On the wall, a fresco of the Virgin saving a monk from drowning, and rescuing a Jew's son from a burning oven.

On a frontal, a Majesty and the Four Evangelists.

On another retable (perhaps on the High altar), in medallions surrounding a cross: (1) some verses which are torn off in the MS.; (2) the widow of Zarephath and Elijah; (3) the Deposition; (4) Jonah swallowed by the fish; (5) Jonah vomited up; (6) the Lion raising its whelp to life; (7) the Resurrection; (8) the Angel and the women¹.

On a frontal, the Church and Synagogue.

Medallions on the vault, no doubt in fresco as at Salisbury.

The story of Simon Magus, and the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul,—subjects which are not at all appropriate to a Lady Chapel.

In a window in the same place: three scenes from the Passion.

Elsewhere are “verses in the windows of the image of the Blessed Virgin,” principally relating to the story of Theophilus, the Death of Herod, and the healing of a clerk by the Virgin. Then, “in the *tabulae* about the image of the Blessed Virgin,” are: the healing of a sick clerk, the Assumption, Annunciation, Visitation, the Magi, the Innocents, the Presentation, the Death of Herod, Theophilus, the Jew's son.

These may well have been in the Lady Chapel.

Of this Chapel we also know that John Lavenham spent £22 on a screen for it. Several important persons were buried there. In front of the altar, their feet eastward, lay three abbots, in a line from east to west, namely: Symon de Luton, the builder (d. 1279), William de Bernham (1335—1361), and John de Brinkley (1361—1379). On the north side was the tomb of Prior John Gosford, of the fourteenth century, and, in the south-

¹ I have here enumerated the subjects recorded in the MS. of which the full text is printed in the Appendix.

east angle, that of Thomas Beaufort, whose body was found in the last century.

Notes of one or two other works of art which I do not see my way to locating will be found in the appendix to this paper.

We may now leave the Church. It would no doubt be possible to collect information about the contents of the Vestry and Sacristy at different periods. Much mischief was done here by the rioters in 1327. The *Placita corone* on this occasion (copied in the *Registrum Vestiarii*, Ee. iii. 60 in the University Library at Cambridge) contain statements of the numbers of chalices and vestments destroyed or stolen on the occasion, and something may be also gathered from the tract on the *Depraedatio (Memorials*, ii. 327). The Douai Register also contains occasional notes of gifts; e.g. Edmund Bokenham gave a "vestment (i.e. a set of vestments) of blue, with butterflies of satin." But it has not fallen to me to find many such notices; such as I have found will be seen in the appendix.

Before examining the other monastic buildings, we must climb the towers and look at the bells, which seem to have been large and numerous. Godefridus, Robert's sacrist, procured the or a great bell at considerable cost. This must have been in the central tower; the western one was not yet built. A tower called the Cloarium, and a fine-toned set of bells in it, were among the works of Anselm's sacrists. But possibly the Cloarium may mean only the ringing apparatus for the central tower. Richard de Newport (1213—1229 circa) got a great bell for the "great tower," which bell was called Neweport. Nicholas of Warwick had cast a fine bell for the central tower, called the Sacrist's bell. Simon de Luton when sacrist had the bell called Luton made for the same tower. Reginald de Denham put four bells in the Cloarium, and a "great bell which broke, and was mended by John Lavenham, who also gave two smaller ones and a third for the clock." Prior Peter de Clopton gave a bell in the central tower, called Clopton.

The bell of Godefridus, as we learn from the Heralds' College MS., was called by his name. Its maker's name is given as Hailficus, and it seems to have been recast.

Another bell, as we learn from the same source, was made for Abbot Anselm by Hugo—Magister Hugo, I take it. The bells must have been, some or all of them, injured by the fall of the central and western towers—and this will in a measure account for the large number that are mentioned¹. An interesting account of the way in which they were rung to commemorate benefactors, and details as to the popular names of the different bells and peals, are to be found in the Douai Register, but for these I must depend on fragmentary notes of my own, and on an article in the *Tablet* (Dec. 26, 1891), quoted by Father Mackinlay. As to the ringing or tolling for benefactors: every day after the meeting in the Chapter-house, the subsacrist announced to the Prior and convent that there would be a single, double, or triple *sonitus* that day. "For whom?" was the reply. Then the names and benefactions of those for whom the bells were to be tolled were announced, and subsequently written upon the notice-board for the benefit of those not present. The details about the ringing on the Vigil of S. Edmund are given with much vividness by Father Mackinlay (p. 326). There were four peals rung. "The two Londons, the greater and the holy-water bell clanged out the first peal. The bells of the cemetery, including the Gabriel or thunderstorm bell, and the chimes of S. Mary's, S. James's, and S. Margaret's, rang out the second and third peal. Lastly, the younger monks, sounding the chimes in the great lantern-tower, gave the signal to all the bells of the monastery to take up the music. The united peals from far and wide, with the well-known *Haut-et-cler* bell, ringing high and clear above the others, produced the fourth peal, or *Le Glas*, as the citizens called it." One more detail I may add. John Major, a Scotchman, in his *Description of England* (Paris, 1521, f. 38), says of Bury that it was supposed to possess the largest bell in England; probably this was the bell Godefridus.

The cloister is our next destination. It lay, as I have said, on the north side of the Church, and opened into the north aisle of the Nave. Its dimensions are variously given: William

¹ In 1465 there were nine bells in the central tower which perished.

of Worcester makes it 80 or 90 paces long on every side (160—180 feet). In the Heralds' College MS. is a statement that it was 145 feet across, and "between the columns and the wall, 14 feet, beside the seats." This must mean that the interior breadth of the cloister garth was 145 feet, and 14 feet was the breadth of the walk of the cloister, exclusive (as I take it) of the stone bench that ran along the wall. This would give a little over 160 feet for the total breadth, from wall to wall.

Probably the first cloister was built under Robert, by Godefridus. At least he finished the chapter-house and refectory, which were both connected with the cloister. But, as we may conjecture, the rioters of 1327 did a good deal of damage here. They broke forty "carrels"—wooden studies for monks to read in—and various chests and presses, and carried off a good many books, chiefly service-books and law-books. At any rate, Prior John Gosford, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, rebuilt the cloister entirely at his own expense. There is mention, it seems (probably in the Douai Register), of a statue of Abbot Anselm in the cloister. Otherwise there are few details of the decoration of it. On the north side was the refectory (171 feet long); on the east the chapter-house. The dormitory may well have been above the east walk of the cloister. The library, I am inclined to think, may have been on the west or south. By the door into the refectory was the lavatory. Here were some painted windows representing the sun, moon, stars, and occupations of the months.

From the east walk we enter the chapter-house. This was first built by Godefridus, and subsequently, in the early part of the thirteenth century, entirely rebuilt by Richard de Newport. Worcester gives its dimensions as 100 feet by 40. At the east end was a *pulpitum*, and, near the centre, a lectern. Round the walls must have been stone seats for the monks. In a line down the centre were buried six of the Abbots: we learn the positions of their tombs accurately from the Douai Register. First and easternmost, with his feet to the east, lay Ording (1148—1157); next to him the great Sampson (1182—1213). I do not know that his resting-place has ever been

pointed out before. Then came the lectern: next to that, Richard I. de Insula (1229—1234), Henry (1234—1248), Edmund de Walpole (1248—1256), and nearest to the door Hugo I. (1157—1180). Ording's tomb was of marble, restored by Abbot William Exeter in 1424. Sampson's, of squared marble stones, had undergone the same process, and probably also Edmund de Walpole's.

The last building which I am here concerned with is the infirmary, which lay east of the cloister, near the river. The old infirmary was built by Helyas, under Ording; the new one by William (or Sampson as subsacrist) and by Hugo under Sampson. But I gather that the old infirmary was left standing. John Gosford built the infirmary cloister at his own expense. An infirmary chapel was dedicated by William Turbius, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the *Liber Albus* calls him, but really Bishop of Norwich, under Abbot Anselm, to the honour of S. Michael.

I rather suspect that the infirmary chapel *par excellence* of the Registers was Anselm's erection. It seems to have had three altars; and four Abbots were buried in it. I will translate literally the descriptions of their sepultures which are given in the Douai Register. They present some difficulties.

1. Robert (1102—1112) "is buried in the chapel of the infirmary on the inner side on the north, between two columns before the altar of S. Benedict."

2. Abbot Anselm (1119—1148) "is buried in the chapel of the infirmary, on the outer side towards the west, on the north side, between two columns, under a marble stone with a mitred effigy carved (or incised) thereupon."

3. Uvius (first Abbot, 1020—1044) "is buried in the chapel of the infirmary on the inner side, on the south, between two columns, under a white stone before the altar of S. Benedict."

4. Albold (1114—1119) "is buried in the chapel of the infirmary on the outer side on the south towards the west, between two columns of the said chapel."

Here I would call attention to the following points. (1) The

presence of columns implies the existence of a central nave with side-aisles. (2) The phrase "on the outer side" is always coupled with the words "towards the west," and the phrase "on the inner side" with the words "before the altar of S. Benedict." Hence I conclude that "outside" is here equivalent to "westward," and "inside" to "eastward"; and I take S. Benedict's altar to be in the central aisle of the chapel. The tombs would be between the pillars of the two eastern bays. The rough plan (fig. 2) will show what I mean.

It is likely enough that some verses illustrating the Life of S. Benedict, which are found in the Heralds' College MS., were inscribed on a window or fresco in the Infirmary Chapel.

I subjoin a table of the burying-places, as far as they are known, of the Abbots of S. Edmund's.

1. Uvius 1020. Infirmary Chapel.
2. Leofstan 1044. Shrine at the feet of S. Edmund.
3. Baldwin 1065. Church: east of Choir-altar.
4. Robert I. 1097. (?)
5. Robert II. 1102. Infirmary Chapel.
6. Albold 1114. Infirmary Chapel.
7. Anselm 1119. Infirmary Chapel.
8. Ording 1148. Chapter-house: east end (1).
9. Hugh I. 1157. Chapter-house: west end (6).
10. Sampson 1182. Chapter-house (2).
11. Hugh II. de Northwold 1213. Ely Cathedral "at the feet of S. Etheldreda."
12. Richard I. de Insula 1229. Chapter-house (3).
13. Henry 1234. Chapter-house (4).
14. Edmund de Walpole 1248. Chapter-house (5).
15. Simon de Luton 1256. Lady Chapel: east end (1).
16. John I. de Norwold 1279. Church: before the Choir-altar.
17. Thomas de Tottington 1301. North Aisle of Church.
18. Richard II. de Draughton 1312. Next to Thomas.
19. William I. de Bernham 1335. Lady Chapel (2).
20. John II. de Brinkley 1361. Lady Chapel (3).

Besides this we learn from the Douai Register that Thomas Rudham (cent. xiv) is buried "in the corner of the monks'

cemetery next to Bradfelde halle" (a large hall near the infirmary, and north of the Church).

John Lavenham, in the monks' cemetery, before the image of the Virgin.

John Gosford, in the Lady Chapel on the north side.

Warynus son of Gerold, in S. Lawrence's Chapel (in the guest-house) under a marble stone, in a monk's habit, he being a lay benefactor to the Church.

Alan Count of Brittany, near the south door before the altar of S. Nicholas.

The altars and chapels in the Abbey Church, as far as I have ascertained them, were as follows :

In the monastic choir :

High altar,

Choir altar.

In the presbytery :

Altars of the Virgin, }
of the Martyrs (?). } Eastern Chapel.

of SS. Botolph, Thomas, and Jurmin, E. of the
shrine (?)

Altars of S. Saba. N.E.

of S. Peter, }
Holy Cross, } S.E.

S. Martin. Somewhere in the apse, on the
south side.

In the crypt :

Altar of the Virgin.

North of Choir :

Lady Chapel.

In south Transept :

S. John Evangelist,

S. Giles, above St John's,

S. Nicholas,

Black-Hostelry.

At the west end :

S. John Baptist (?), }
S. Katherine, over it, } S.W. (?)

S. Denis,
S. Faith, over it. } N.W. (?).

Of uncertain place:

Altar of S. Mary of Egypt,

S. Edmund (very doubtful),

S. Nicasmus.

the Relics (? in the North Transept or North Choir aisle).

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

THE Appendix to my paper on the Church of St Edmund runs to an unconscionable length. Yet it is in many respects the most important part of my communication. I do not think that students can, at present, turn to any complete collection, or indeed any that approaches completeness, of the passages which throw light upon the arrangements and fittings of this great centre of the religious life of eastern England. Now this Appendix of Documents is not complete. There must still be a good deal of material lurking in Registers, and, perhaps, also in Chronicles, printed and unprinted, which ought to be included in any collection of this kind. The absence of this is simply owing to my having lacked time and opportunity to collect it. I have examined a great many documents; and I venture to think that what may hereafter come to light will be less, in bulk at least, than what appears here. I hope it may not be so: no one would be better pleased than I, if a complete medieval guide-book to the Abbey were to be discovered. But I fear that none will.

I must point out my principal omissions. The verses from the Heralds' College MS. I have never had time to copy completely: I hope I may be able to supplement this defect in the future. Yet it seems to me that a complete text of them will be more important if it is made the subject of an iconographical study. The lines themselves do not help us to settle problems of topography. Again, there must be more material in the Douai Register than I was able to extract in

one day's study ; and perhaps also in the Registers of William Curteys, and of one or two other Abbots.

In short, I offer this collection of *Schriftquellen* for the study of S. Edmund's Church with a full sense of the likelihood that it contains serious gaps, but with some hope that, such as it is, it may form a nucleus for the additions of future investigators.

I should like to call particular attention to the graphic account of the disastrous fire of 1465, which I only discovered by chance in the *Registrum Hostiliariae*. No previous writer on the history of the Abbey has mentioned it, so far as I know.

I append to this prefatory note a list of the contents of the Appendix, which may both facilitate reference to it, and indicate the range of the sources which have been employed.

§ i. Extracts from the *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, Rolls Series, ed. T. Arnold, vols. i, ii.

1. Extracts from the *Gesta Sacristarum* (c. 1300). Main history of the buildings.
2. Extracts from the *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*. Sampson's building works. Various gifts to the Church: points connected with shrine and high altar.
3. Passages from *Annals of Bury* in MSS. Bodl. 297: Tomb of Alan of Brittany: old site of chapter-house: translation of S. Edmund: S. Jurmin: tomb of Baldwin: Abbot Robert II.'s works. From MS. Bodl. 240: shrines of S. Thomas and others: tower of Abbey seen at a distance: Henry Lacy's gifts.
4. Extracts from the *Depraedatio Abbatiae* (1327). Thefts from cloister: jewels, vestments, and plate taken from sacristy: windows broken.

§ ii. Extracts from other Chronicles, etc. which have been wholly or partly printed.

5. From *John of Oxeneches*. Books brought from Hulme: building of Lady Chapel.
6. From *Continuation of Florence of Worcester* (*John de Taxster*). Gift to the refectory: fall of tower.
7. From the *Liber Albus*.

Mode of incensing the altars: Altar of S. Botolph, etc.: dedication of crypt, altars of S. Peter, Martin, Saba, Faith, detached Chapels, S. Mary's Church, altar of S. Ann, Gaufrid's cross, Church of S. Denis, Chapel of S. Giles, etc.: visit of Abp. Arundel.

8. From *Registrum Pinchebeck*. Books, vestments, etc. stolen from the Abbey.
9. From the *Itinerary of William of Worcester*. Measurements of the Church and other buildings. Gillingwater's measurements, taken in 1790.
10. From *Leland*. Panegyric of Bury: notes from Hearne's *View of Mitred Abbeys*, and from Leland's *Collectanea and Itinerary*.
11. Extracts from *Bury Wills and Inventories*. Bequests to building of Western Tower, etc. Image of St Christopher.
12. Letters of Commissioners for the suppression of the Monasteries: list of relictæ: defacement of shrine: state of the Abbey.
13. Sir Henry Spelman's *Iconotypicon Buricense*: description of a painted window at Bury.
14. Notes from the *Monasticon*: Henry VI.'s visit to Bury: painted panels from the Abbey Church: font.
- 15 a. From Gillingwater's *Historical and Descriptive Account of Bury*, 1804. Model of the Abbey Church.
- b. Note from Mr Edward King's paper on the Church: Chapel in N. Transept.

§ iii. Extracts from Registers, etc., not as yet printed:

16. From a Custumary (Harl. 3977). Doctrina nouitiorum, etc.: lighting of the Church: servants connected with the Church.
17. From the Douai Register. Names and burial-places of Abbots and other benefactors.
18. From a *Rituale* (Harl. 2977). Particulars of processions, mentions of various chapels and reliques, etc.
19. Verses and Inscriptions in the Church and adjoining buildings. (a) from MS. Bodley 240: (b) from Arundel MS. xxx in the College of Arms.
20. Extract from MS. Bodl. 240. Fall of central tower.
21. Extracts from *Registrum Hostilariae* (Claud. A. xii). (a) Various localities in the abbey; (b) Account of the great fire of 1465.

I. *Gesta Sacristarum* (from Arnold's text, *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ii. 289).

1065—1097. 1. Temporibus domini Baldewini Abbatis, primo Thurstanus, postea Tolinus, sacristæ fungebantur officio. Hi duo temporibus praedicti abbatis, ecclesia lignea et ueteri complanata, ecclesiae nostræ fundamenta iecerunt, parietes erexerunt, presbiterium ad plenum consummauerunt, et beati martyris translationem procurauerunt. Feretrum etiam beati martyris, et Sanctorum Botulphi et Jurmini laminis argenteis exsculpsérunt.

1102—1107. Hos secutus est, tempore domini Roberti abbatis, in eodem officio uir statura e fere giganteae Godefridus nomine, magnus corpore sed maior animo. Hic refectorium, capitulum, domum infirmorum, et abbatis aulam consummauit ad plenum. Iste etiam magnam campanam non leui pretio comparauit.

1120—1148. 2. Subsecuti sunt eum uiri totius prudentiae Radulphus et Herueus sacristae temporibus domini Anselmi abbatis. Qui murorum ambitum circa atrium ecclesiae fecerunt, ecclesiam¹ beatae Mariae cum turri sua, Cloarium, et deintus cimbala bene sonantia, et turrim S. Iacobi. Valuas etiam duplices in fronde ecclesiae, insculptas digitis magistri Hugonis, qui cum in aliis operibus omnes alios uicerit, in hoc opere mirifico uicit se ipsum....

1148—1156. 3. Helyas sacrista, nepos Ordingi Abbatis.....
Iste Helyas, conflagratis omnibus officinis domus S. Eadmundi, abbatis aulam, refectorium, dormitorium, et domum infirmorum uetustam, et capitulum reformauit ad plenum.....
Tabulam etiam argenteam pretii c. marcarum ante magnum altare fabri-
fieri fecit, et festum reliquiare² instituit.....
Crucem in choro et Mariam et Iohannem per manus magistri Hugonis incomparabiliter fecit insculpi.....

cir. 1150. 4. Willelmus cognomento Wiardel.....
Huic aliquando ministrauit dominus Radulphus, quondam elemosinarius, in subsacristia, qui translationem SS. Botulphi et Jurmini procurauit. Quo in breui mortuo, ministrauit etiam eidem in eodem officio magister Sampson postea abbas: qui tempore officii sui pro maiori parte chorum consummauit et unam istoriam in maiori turre ad ostium occidentale.

cir. 1180. 5. Domino W. Wiardel successit dominus Hugo sacrista, qui turrim magnam uersus occidentem tecto apposito et plumbato con-
summauit, domino abbate Sampsone laquearia et tigna, et quicquid ibidem ligneum est, deuotius impendente. Turrim etiam iuxta capellam S. Fidis plene, quoad opus lapideum, consummauit: in alia turri iuxta capellam S. Caterinae una istoria consummata.....

Pulpitum in ecclesia aedificauit, magna cruce erecta, cum imaginibus beatae Marie et S. Johannis sibi allaterantibus. Sedem abbatis in choro, manu Symonis pictoris ad hoc desudante, reddidit conspicuam. Capas bruslatas contulit ad ualentiam lx^{ma} marcarum, et calicem aureum v.
marcarum pondere.....

cir. 1200. Magister Walterus de Banham.....
Centum marcas de plata et eo amplius, et duas marcas auri, ad tabulam faciendam dedicauit, et ecclesiae fabricam innouauit, ut patet omni transeunti. Turrim magnam quae est iuxta capellam S. Fidis, quam dominus Hugo sacrista quoad caementariam consummauerat, hic culmine

¹ So the MS.: Arnold has ecclesiae.

² ? reliquiarum.

superposito plenius consummanit. Quinque capas sericas auro bruslatas, et unam casulam bruslatam denote contulit. Tabulam magnam super altari in choro, cum mole illa lapidea cui trabes innititur consummauit ad plenum, magno candelabro desurato et laminis aureis innouato.....

cir. 1211. Robertus de Gravale..... Nauim ecclesiae de nouo contignauit, et celuram ultra S. Eadmundum fecit, et picturae varietate decorauit.....

cir. 1213—1229. Ricardus de Neweport. Hic uestis capitulum destruxit, et nouum a fundamentis construxit:...magnam etiam campanam in maiori campanario, quae dicitur Neweport, sumptu non mediocri fieri fecit....

cir. 1240. Nicholaus natus in patria de Warewick. Qui inter multa alia bona quae fecit, fundi fecit campanam optimam in choro, quae dicitur campana sacrificiae.....

cir. 1250. Simon de Luyton....fundи fecit campanam in choro quae dicitur Luyton.....

cir. 1294. Willelmus de Lutone..... Hic primus cultum Dei in ecclesia et circa S. Eadmundum, S. Botulphum, aliaque sanctuaris, in cereis et luminaribus diminuit, et plusquam dimidiauit; quod sibi in prosperum cessasse non arbitror.....

II. *Iocelini de Brakelonda Cronica. (Memorials, i. 209.)*

Cir. 1176. p. 212, § 3. Non erat unde solui poterat quod (Hugo) promiserat domino papae...nisi, ex circumstantiis, crux quae erat super magnum altare, et Mariola, et Iohannes, quas imagines Stigandus archiepiscopus magno pondere auri et argenti ornauerat et S. Aedmundo dederat.

It is not stated, however, that these ornaments actually were sold.

p. 217, § 9. Samson subsacrista...In diebus illis chorus noster fuit erectus, Samsone procurante, historias picturae ordinante, et uersus elegiacos dictante. Attractum fecit magnum de lapidibus et sabulo ad magnam turrim ecclesiae construendam.

A money-box was made, and put up “in magna ecclesia, iuxta ostium extra chorum in communi transitu uulgi, ut ibi ponerent homines elemosinam suam ad aedificationem turris.”

Mr Arnold writes: “This was the great tower in the centre of the west front of the Abbey Church, begun and in great part erected by Abbot Baldwin. After all the labour and money that it had cost, it fell in 1210, about a year before the death of Samson.” But I do not know that it can be shown that this tower was begun by Baldwin, nor that it was the one that fell. Baldwin’s connexion with it may possibly have been deduced from the words italicised in the next passage, though to me they seem not to imply an exact date, but to give a round number.

p. 226, § 16. Velauit autem pedes sancti martyris, quando turres ecclesiae a centum annis inceptas perfecte consummauit.

Baldwin's plan both for choir, nave, and west end, had clearly been much enlarged, as we see from the *Gesta Sacristarum*. I think Robert and Anselm's work is referred to here.

1189. p. 250, § 34. Cum autem regina Ellienor secundum consuetudinem regni deberet accipere c. marcas ubi rex cepit mille, accepit a nobis calicem magnum aureum in pretium c. marcarum, et eundem calicem nobis reddidit pro anima domini sui regis Henrici, qui eum primo dederat S. Aedmundo.

1193. Alia quoque uice, cum thesaurus ecclesiae nostrae portaretur Lundonias ad redemptionem regis Ricardi, eadem regina eundem calicem ad quietauit pro c. marcis et nobis reddidit, accipiens cartam nostram a nobis in testimonium promissionis nostrae factae in uerbo ueritatis, quod calicem illum nunquam pro aliquo casu ab ecclesia nostra alienabimus.

p. 275, § 55. Samson had certain oaks marked at Elmsett "ad opus S. Aedmundi, et ad culmen magnae turris."

p. 289, § 63. Returning from abroad, Samson "non rediit uacua manu ad ecclesiam suam: ferens cruceum auream et textum pretiosum ad pretium quateruiginti marcarum." At another time "obtulit conuentui casulam pretiosam et mitram auro intextam, et sandalia cum caligis sericis, et cambucam uirgae pastoralis argenteam et bene operatam."

p. 294, § 67. Certain townsmen were summoned to appear "in capella S. Dionisii responsuri."

p. 297, § 70. Capellae S. Andreae et S. Katherinae et S. Fidis nouiter plumbo coopertae sunt. Multae quoque emendationes infra ecclesiam et extra factae sunt. Si non credis, aperi oculos tuos et uide....

Item uidens abbas quod tabula argentea magni altaris et multa alia pretiosa ornamenta alienata fuerant propter recuperationem de Mildenhala et redemptionem regis Ricardi, tabulam illam noluit reformare, nec alia consimilia, quae consimili casu possent euelli et distrahi: sed ad cristam faciendam pretiosissimam super feretrum gloriosi martyris Aedmundi studium suum conuertit....Caeteris ergo omissionis, conuersus est animus abbatis satis consulte et prouide ad cristam feretri fabricandam. Et iam resonant lamine aureae et argenteae inter malleum et incudem, et tractant fabrilia fabri.

1198. p. 306, § 75. From the account of the fire at S. Edmund's shrine, and its consequent opening, I take the following extracts, which bear on the topography and furniture of the Church.

Erat quidam ligneus tabulatus inter feretrum et magnum altare... aurea quidem maiestas in fronte feretri cum quibusdam lapidibus remansit firma et intacta, et pulchrior post ignem quam ante, quia tota aurea fuit.

§ 76. Contigit etiam, uolente Altissimo, tunc temporis magnam trabem, quae solebat esse ultra altare, sublatam esse, ut noua sculptura repararetur. Contigit et crucem, et Mariolam, et Iohannem, et loculum cum camisia S. Aedmundi, et philateria cum reliquiis, quae ab eadem trabe

pendere solebant, et alia sanctuaria quae super trabem steterant, omnia prius sublata esse; alioquin omnia combusta essent, ut credimus, sicut pannus depictus combustus fuit, qui in loco trabis pendebat. Sed quid fieret si cortinata esset ecclesia?

p. 314, § 81. Quarto die sequente custodes feretri et custodem S. Botulfi depositus abbas. This shows that in 1198, at any rate, S. Botulph's shrine was still near S. Edmund's.

Magnumque altare, quod prius concavum erat, ubi saepius quaedam indecenter reponebantur, et spatium illud quod erat inter feretrum et altare solidari fecit lapide et cemento.

p. 322, § 88. Abbas fecit Herebertum capellatum subsacristam et... bailiam illam ei commisit in capella S. Nicasii. This is the only reference I have found to the Chapel of S. Nicasius.

III. Extracts from *Annals of Bury*.

In MSS. Bodl. 297, a copy of Marianus Scotus, a Bury monk has written a great many marginal entries. These are to be found, in part at least, in the Appendix to vol. i. of the *Memorials*. I extract the following from that work (p. 350):

No. viii. [A.D. 1093.] Circa istum annum dominicae incarnationis obiit Alanus comes Brittanniae et constructor nobilis coenobii S. Mariae extra urbem Eboracam: sed apud S. Eadmundum, cuius ecclesiae multorum bonorum impensor extiterat, ab abbe Baldewino iuxta australe ostium ecclesiae primo sepultus est: sed succidente tempore infra ecclesiam supplicatione monachorum Eboracensium et parentum suorum in opposito loco prioris tumulationis conditus est. Cuius nobilitatem exornat epytafium, quod super eum sic scriptum monstratur:

Stella ruit regni: comitis caro marcat Alani:
 Anglia turbatur: satraparum flos cineratur:
 Ia<m> Brito, flos regum, modo marcor in ordine rerum
 Praecepto¹ legum, nitet ortus sanguine regum.
 Dux uiguit summus, rutilans a rege secundus.
 Hunc cernens plora: 'requies sibi sit, Deus' ora.
 Vixit nobilium praefulgens stirpe Brittonum.

No. ix. [A.D. 1094.] Religiosus prior S. Eadmundi Benedictus, qui Saxo dicebatur, circa hunc annum obiit, et in capitulo fratrum tunc temporis sepultus est... Cuius uita quantum fuit Deo accepta satis claruit dum post plus<quam> xxx annos, tempore abbatis Ans<elmi>, in loco quo prius fuerat cap<itulum> pararetur claustrum infirmorum <et> placeret remouere eum et iu<xta pa>riitem ecclesiae recondere.

¹ Praeceptor.

No. x. [A.D. 1095.] Venerabilis abbas Baldewinus monasterii S. Eadmundi delecta ecclesia quam condiderat gloriosus rex Cnutes et eius regina Emma, simplici facta schemate nec sic artificialiter ut quaedam construuntur hoc tempore, monitu senioris regis Willelmi artifici(osi?)orem et pulchriorem iactis fundamentis inchoauit, columnari, testudinali, marmorali opere fabrefacta, qua multi qui uiderunt speci(osi)orem et delectabiliorem nunquam se uidisse testati sunt. Et ut perducta sunt ad perfectum aedificia presbyterii, anno ab incarnatione Domini mxcv°, a passione S. Eadmundi ccxxv°, iir^o Kal. Maii, praesente iam dicto Baldwino, et monachis eius disponentibus, digno cum honore beatus martyr die Dominica transfertur a Walchelino Wintoniensi episcopo et a Ranulfo tunc regis capellano postea Dunhelmensi episcopo in praeparatam sibi basilicam, astante innumerabili caterua cleri populique, et retro magnum altare decenter reconditur....Translati sunt nihilominus cum rege beatissimo et reliquiis multis sanctorum corpora duorum sanctorum, uidelicet Botulphi (defect of two words) episcopi et Jurmini clitonis Christi, amboque, ut percipimus (? perceperimus) illo delati sunt tempore Lefstani abbatis. Corpus namque beati Botulphi episcopi primitus apud quandam uillam Grundesbure nominatam humatum est; cuius translatio cum obscura nocte fieret, columna lucis super fererum eius ad depellendas tenebras protendi uisa est. Corpus uero beati Jurmini similiter apud uillam quandam Blihtebure primum iacuit: in cuius plumbea theca in qua delatus est tale ephithaphium inscriptum continebatur: Ego Jurminus commendo, in nomine Trinitatis sanctae, ut nulla persona audeat depraedare locum sepulturae usque in diem resurrectionis: sin autem, remotum se sciatis a sorte sanctorum.

No. xi. [A.D. 1097.] Eximiae uir religionis monasterii S. Eadmundi abbas Baldwinus, genere Gallus, artis medicinae bene peritus, iv. Kal. Januarii die dominica feria iii, in bona senectute decessit, et in medio choro principalis ecclesiae sepultus requiescit.

No. xvi. [A.D. 1107.] Abbot Robert II. "inter caetera bona claustrum, capitulum, refectorium, dormitorium, et cameram suam aedificari fecerat."

Among the miracles of S. Edmund extracted from MSS. Bodl. 240, in the same Appendix (p. 366).

No. 9. Vidimus uirum religiosum nomine Radulphum S. Edmundi monachum qui cum a iuuentute uitiae suae usque ad canos in religione perseuerasset, iussuque domini abbatis Hugonis altare S. Thomae martyris aedificasset, hac S. Botulphum, illa S. Jurminum, medioque reliquias S. Thomae et aliorum quamplurimorum auratis et gemmatis feretris praecellare collocasset, aegrotare coepit.

No. 19. Certain pilgrims "transeundo uersus locum, praeuisa celsitudine campanilis ecclesiae S. Edmundi omnes...genibus flexis...supplicant." The church was six miles away.

From the same MS. in the Appendix to vol. ii. p. 366.

Henricus Lacy Earl of Lincoln:

Venit peregrinando uisitare S. Edmundum: et ibi iocale pretiosum, crucem scilicet ex auro et argento ac lapidibus pretiosis ornatam, continentem quamdam ligni sanctae crucis portionem offerens...

Dedit uestiario unam pretiosam capam bruslatam: item alia uice crucem magni pretii auream, cum lapidibus pretiosis adornatam, quae in australi parte feretri dependet. Contulit etiam pretiosum lapidem qui antrax dicitur, et situatur ad pedem dictae crucis super feretrum. Item legauit uiginti marcas pro ymagine de argento facienda et deauranda, in cuius fronte seu pectore praedictus lapis situaretur (this legacy never took effect). Legauit etiam post mortem matris suae beato Edmundo pro refectorio monachorum suorum unam cupam argenteam et deauratam et miro opere fabricatam, quam dixit et asseruit fuisse S. Edmundi in uita sua, ob cuius honorem diebus festiuis sacerdos eius superpellicie indutus ex hoc conuiuantibus propinavit.

p. 368. A mention of the shrine of S. Thomas at Bury.

IV. *Depraedatio Abbatiae* (1327), *Memorials*, ii. 327.

p. 330. Deinde claustrum ingressi, cistulas, id est caroles, et armariola fregerunt, et libros ac omnia in eis inuenta similiter asportauerunt. ... Sacristiam fregerunt, cistas et omnia clausa diruperunt, aurum et argentum, libros, registra, et uasa argentea sustulerunt, et uinum ultra modum consumpsierunt. Registra et munimenta et cartas sacristiae.... abduxerunt. Deinde perrexerunt ad cameriam et infirmariam et ad alia officia, asportantes omnia quae eis ualere poterant, et infirmos monachos nimis molestauerunt.

p. 331. Postea ingressi sunt thesaurariam ecclesiae, et inde aurum et argentum, florenos et iocalia, multa uasa argentea et lapides pretiosos, cartas regum, paparum bullas, et alia munimenta libertatum secum abstulerunt... Et ad cumulum malitiae eorum ingressi sunt uestiarium ecclesiae et xxiiij. capas pretiosas, omnia uestimenta principalia, et ij. casulas festiuales cum tunicis et dalmaticis, pretiosum saphirum, ij. turribula magna argentea et deaurata, iiiij. pelues de argento et ammetlat<o> et folas, ij. cruces festiuales, iiij. calices de auro puro magni ponderis, cupam auream supra magnum altare in qua reconditum fuerit corpus Christi, electo corpore super altare, cum tribus aliis cupis argenteis et deauratis ibidem pendentibus asportauerunt. De refectorio magnum ciphum S. Edmundi et xxiiij. mazers electos, unam cupam argenteam, j. cupam deauratam, pelues, aquaria argenti, pecias et discos argenteos cum cochlariis depraedati sunt...

p. 334. Et sic multotiens et multis modis conuentum terruerunt frangentes uitreas fenestras ecclesiae, et multa alia enormia perpetrantes.

V. *John Oxenede's Chronicle (Rolls Series).*

[A.D. 1021.] Aluinus, Estanglorum episcopus, coepit construere ecclesiam S. Aedmundi regis, ad quam media pars librorum et ecclesiasticorum ornamentorum a domo S. Benedicti (i.e. St. Benet of Hulme) est translata¹.

[A.D. 1275.] Deposita est capella S. Aedmundi apud S. Aedmundum, et in eodem loco capella S. Mariae est constructa: ubi sub terra inuenti fuerunt muri cuiusdam veteris ecclesiae rotundae, quae quidem multo latior fuit quam capella, et ita constructa quod altare capellae quasi in medio ejus fuerat, et creditur illam fuisse quae ad opus S. Aedmundi primo fuit constructa. Positus fuit primus lapis a Roberto priore, conventu ibidem existente et Antiphona(m) *Ave regina celorum* modulante, primo die mensis Julii².

VI. *Florence of Worcester* ii. 169 (ed. Thorpe): in the continuation (John de Taxster).

1210. Matilda de Brausa et Willelmus filius ejus apud Windlesoram fame interierunt. Ista dedit mappam pretiosam S. Edmundo, ad usus refectorii³.

Turris ecclesiae S. Edmundi <sine aliquo> impulsu venti cecidit ix. Kal. Octobr. (23 Sept.).

The *mappa*, being given to the refectory, was presumably a rich cloth or hanging, not a *mappa mundi*.

These statements occur also in the Chronicle of the Abbey preserved in Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Add. 850, whence I have supplied the words 'sine aliquo.' But, if we compare No. XX. in this Appendix, we shall find that the fall of the tower was due to a storm of wind.

VII. *The Liber Albus* (Harl. 1005): C. 68 in the Abbey Library, of octavo size: cent. xiii, with notes by the Librarian. The text from f. 217 b, here abstracted, is printed in full in the *Monasticon*: the rest is printed, I think, for the first time.

On folio 104b in the *Traditiones patrum*:

Nota quod ciphus cum thure poni debet super altare chori dum incenditur (= incensatur) conuentus. Post conuentum uero incenduntur altaria more statuto scilicet Crucis ad pedes sancti Eadmundi, Martyrum, sancti Sabe et beate Marie.

When the Abbot says Mass, and has entered the choir, the Prior, etc., wait 'aut in Vestiario uestiti, aut coram sancto Saba,' until the Abbot has begun the Antiphon before *Magnificat*.

¹ Oxenede, p. 19.

² *Ibid.* p. 246.

³ Florence, p. 169.

The incense being put into the censer, 'Prior capiat unum (thurribulum) et procedat ex parte sua, et Supprior aliud, procedens ex parte Abbatis; et precedant abbatem et cereos usque ad magnum altare, et ibi tradit Supprior Abbati suum thurribulum. Abbas uero et Prior turificent uas cum eukaristia et magnum altare, feretrum beati Eadmundi, cistam reliquiarum, altare sanctorum Botulphi, Thome, et Jurmini, et feretra eorum, Abbas scilicet ex parte australi et Prior ex parte aquilonari. Quo facto capiat Supprior turribulum de manu Abbatis, qui et Prior procedant ut prius et turificatis feretro Baldewini Abbatis et altari in choro' they proceed to incense the convent.

On some other occasions the Prior and Subprior wait in the vestry and enter 'per ostium uiride usque ad magnum altare.' This green gate is mentioned as having a special *custos*, in the estimate of the weekly expenses of the Church. It seems identical with the gate leading into the vestry out of the choir, which is spoken of in the account of the fire of 1465.

The Altar of SS. Botolph, Thomas, and Jurmin is only mentioned under this name in this passage, so far as I know: Mr Gordon Hills would identify it with the Altar of the Martyrs. This is quite likely, but at the same time not certain. I hesitate to accept it without further evidence, because I believe that the dedication to 'the Martyrs' is an old one, and is of purely general signification, not being intended to apply to individuals, but to the whole army of Martyrs. As a matter of fact, only two of the three saints to whom the Martyrs' altar was sacred according to Mr Hills's theory, were martyrs. S. Botolph was a Confessor only. I still, therefore incline to believe that the Martyrs' altar was somewhere near or in the Chapel of the Virgin, and that the altar of the three saints was at some such point as that marked K in the plan.

On p. 215b in the *Liber Albus* are particulars about the lighting of the Church, whence I extract the following:

In v festis principalibus et vi secundariis accenduntur cerei super candelabrum cum magno cereo.

This was the great candlestick near the High altar.

In omnibus festis iii^{or} caparum x et vii supra (candeles) circa S. Eadmundum.

et v ante magnum altare et ii ante altare S. Botulphi.

et iii super altare in choro.

This mention of the altar of S. Botulph seems to me to confirm my view expressed above that the altar of the Martyrs and the altar of S. Botulph were two distinct ones. For we have elsewhere mention, in the same list, of the Martyrs, S. Saba, and S. Cross.

f. 69. De liberatione cereorum altari magno hospitalis S. Saluatoris, altari S. Laurentii ad aulam hospitum, altari nigri hospitii, tribus altaribus in infirmeria (S. Michael's, S. Benedict's, and another), quinque altaribus

in voltis (i.e. in the triforium), altaribus S. Marie in criptis, et in capella prioris in cimiterio, altari in uestiario, altari S. Edmundi, et capellani abbatis. Ex registro sacristae et ex antiquo consuetudinario tertii prioris in turpi quaterno.

This shows that there were five altars in the triforium; S. Giles's was one of them, and S. Ann's and S. Nicasius's may have been others.

f. 217b. The 'cripta S. Mariae Virginis infra ecclesiam beati Eadmundi' was dedicated by Ralph Bp. of Rochester, afterwards Abp. of Canterbury. A story of three boys in the school, Ralph, afterwards Sacrist, Wido, and Walter, who looking out of the infirmary window saw Bp. Ralph confirming in the cemetery near where S. Andrew's Chapel now is, and saw two doves hovering about him; 'et post cum in ecclesiam a diuino opere per posterulam que uersus capellam S. Eadmundi est introiret,' the doves followed him.

Altare S. Petri in fronte ecclesiae ad pedes S. Eadmundi: dedicated in Baldwin's priorate, but it is not known by whom. Sancta uero crux que ibidem erecta est, ualde sancta est et antiqua. Some say this cross was there before the monks came: others, that Leofstan on his way to Rome had it made according to the measure of the cross of Lucca.

Altaria S. Martini presulis et S. Sabe abbatis et porticum S. Fidis uirginis et martiris super porticum S. Dionisii infra maius monasterium, et ecclesiam S. Mariae parochiam uille, et capellam S. Andree apostoli in cimiterio fratrurn, et capellam S. Margarete uirginis et martiris ad australem portam maioris cimiterii: were all dedicated at the request of abbot Anselm by John Bp. of Rochester. Anselm had been abbot of S. Saba at Rome: 'ideo memoratum altare ei construere et desuper depingere fecit.'

The writer thinks there had always been a church of S. Mary at Bury since the time of Felix (the Burgundian missionary of cent. vii.). The stone church of S. Mary was pulled down, 'pro extendendis dextri brachii noui monasterii fundamentis': et predicta parochia a Gaufrido sacrificia pro ipsa ad australem angulum cimiterii uersus occidentem constructa.

Capellam S. Andree edificare et depingere fecerunt Anselmus et Herueus: it was instead of a small 'Capellula lapidea' which was 'iuxta hospitium sacristicum' and formerly much revered. 'Quam, ut amnem dilatarent, et quod non fuit in apto loco, destruere fecerunt.' *Placebo* and *Dirige* were ordered to be said in the new chapel for the souls of all who lay in the cemetery.

Alboldus a priest had in Baldwin's time built a 'turrem non paruam et adherentem ei capellam' to S. Margaret, where a holy woman Langliua was afterwards inclosed, lived, died, and was buried. This building Anselm pulled down, 'et premissa ecclesia eidem uirginis edificata est.'

Altare S. Crucis retro chorum dedicauit Albericus Hostiensis episcopus (legate in Stephen's time) et hec dedicacio in uigilia S. Eadmundi facta est. Anselm was then at Rome. Ipsam uero magnam crucem a Gaufrido

sacrista per Wohancum pictorem preparatam et multis infra dorsum et magnis ab ipso reliquiis reconditis longe ante dedicauerat Anselmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus tempore Roberti abbatis. The story of its having split itself out of the wood miraculously is given.

Baldwin in memory of S. Denis, whose monk he had been, 'fecit basilicam grandem et pulchram, ubi cetum clericorum non paruum coadunauit, et parochiam ville ibidem constituit, ubi inter Archiclericos erat Petrus Damianus, cuius pulcherrimus liber qui dicitur *Dominus uobis secum* usque hodie extat. Hec pro extendendis lateribus fundamenti nauis maioris ecclesie diruta, et alia pene in eodem loco porticus artificiose constructa est, et primum parochia que nunc est ad S. Iacobum ubi similiter fuit, temporeque Anselmi et ipso presente,' dedicated by Richard Bp. of Avranches.

Baldwin made a wooden chapel of St Stephen over the place where the bones were buried which were found in digging for the new basilica. Anselm pulled it down, and rebuilt it not far off: it was consecrated by the same Richard.

Anselm built S. James's Church: it was consecrated by William Turbius 'Abp. of Canterbury': on the next day he consecrated the Infirmary Chapel 'in memoriam summi Archangeli Michaelis.'

In Anselm's time and Stephen's reign 'quum Hymerus Tusculanus episcopus functus est legacione Anglie, Dothrot episcopus Ebredunensis (of Embrun), qui cum ipso uenit, ipsius iussu dedicauit capellam domus infirmorum extra villam S. Eadmundi in memoriam beati Petri Apostoli.' Anselm was absent.

Ording, tempore Stephani, dedicare fecit capellam S. Egidii infra maius monasterium desuper altare S. Johannis ewangeliste, a Gaufrido episcopo de S. Asaph in Wallia, relaxatis pie requisitoribus iam dicte porticus in die festiuitatis eiusdem sancti xv diebus de eorum penitencia.

There were many other *sacrarria* before the monks' time, now pulled down or changed or forgotten. 'Nam in loco quo nunc est noua domus infirmorum uidi magnam turrim in memoria S. Benedicti dedicatam, iuxta quam dicebant abbatem Baldewinum habuisse suas cameras, et ipsam turrim cum porticu eius referebant Alfricum filium Withgari construxisse, et quendam filium suum qui infirmus erat ibidem cum licentia et uoluntate abbatum Uui et Leofstani posuisse, et Melefordiam manerium suum redditibus ecclesie adiecisse.'

This I say, that it may be understood that there were many more *sacrarria*. 'De non sacratis altaribus nichil iudico dicere, cum in quorum memoria sanctorum erecta sint facile querenti a multis scientibus patebit.'

An addition follows, on the dedication of the Chapel of SS. Stephen and Edmund on Innocents' day by William de Dages, archiepiscopus Medorum.

The same matters are almost all contained in the *Registrum alphabeti-*

cum Celerarii, Cambr. Univ. Lib. Gg. iv. 4, cent. xv. They seem to be extracted from a larger and older work, which has most likely perished.

f. 14. (Cent. xv.) An account of the visit of Abp. Thomas Arundel in 1400. He was met by the prior and convent in the Church, without procession or ringing of bells. He heard vespers 'stans in stallo abbatis inferiori, et iuxta ipsum stetit dominus abbas et dominus le Mowbray.' On the next day he heard two masses 'in capella reliquiarum,' and offered at the shrine. Then he went with the Abbot and Prior 'per cimiterium magnum in capellam S. Andree, dein in uineam, et sic redeundo per totam infirmarie aulam, et cameram prioris inuisere decreuit: tandem per claustrum regressus uenit in refectorium, et sic circa undecim de campana intrauit palacium. ...et armigeri ipsius domini Cantuariensis dixerunt se non uidisse dominum suum leciorem aut iocundiores quam comedebat cum alio domino per totum annum precedentem.'

f. 278 b. Inscriptio exarata in trunco pedum ymaginis S. Marie que super magnum altare stabat, cum cruce et Iohanne.

This was no doubt the rood given by Abp. Stigand. See above no. ii, at the beginning.

VIII. Registrum Vestiarii or Registrum W. Pinchebeck (Univ. Libr. Ee. iii. 60) contains the *Placita Corone* referring to the great Riot of 1327. On f. 65 is an account of some of the Church property taken or destroyed by the mob. The same text is quoted in the *Monasticon*, and in Yates's *History of Bury*, from other copies.

Scilicet xx cistas, xxx forceria, xl carulas...et calices aureos et argenteos, libros, uestimenta, ornamenta ecclesie, uidelicet: iii calices aureos, xl calices argenteos, xx missalia, xxiv portiforia, xii bibulas (=Bibles), xx psalteria, x Jornalia, septem (septem) paria decretorum, x paria decretalium, et alias plures libros diuersa<rum> scientiarum et uoluminum. Quinquaginta etiam capas chori, lx albas cum amitiis, xxx etiam cassibulas (chasubles), xxx tuniculas, xl dalmaticulas, xx etiam frontalia altarium, xl urciola, vi thurribula argentea et uasa coclearia argentea, ciphos et alia utensilia, uidelicet (a list of domestic plate follows).

f. 83. The rioters extorted from the Abbot arms, books, and jewels, scilicet xx ciphos argenteos, xl aketones (actons), xxx habergones, xxx Bacinettos, x etiam gradalia, xii antiphonaria, x troparia.

IX. William of Worcester, *Itinerarium*, ed. Nasmyth (= N.).

I have collated Nasmyth's text with the autograph at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (no. cex.).

I.

¹ Longitudo Curie magne infra precinctum monasterii de Berye 210 gressus meos.

Latitudo eius 120 gressus.

² om. N. Longitudo et latitudo quadrangularis Claustri Bury continet ex omni parte 80 gressus *meos*².

Longitudo Ecclesie parochialis sancti jacobi de Bery continet 66 in toto continet 96 gressus: at (? ac) longitud chori illius continet 30 gressus.

Latitudo eius continet 34 gressus.

³ a mutilated word above, at the end of the line: om. by N. Interstitium inter duas Ecclesias parochiales continet 230 (*bis*) gressus³. Longitudo ecclesie parochialis assumptionis beate marie ex parte meridionali de Bery 40 gressibus.

Longitudo chori continet in toto 120 gressus cum uno ovyrstorye⁴.

Latitudo eius continet 40 gressus.

Longitudo navis Ecclesie monasterii Bery continet 150 gressus meos.

⁵ obscure: possibly majoris. Longitudo spaci⁵ campanile in medio ecclesie navis a dicto numero 150 gressus continet 20 gressus.

Latitudo brachii meridionalis Ecclesie a pede campanilis ad portam meridionalem continet 43 gressus.

Longitudo chori a pede orientali campanile prediche vsque ad capellam beate marie continet 70 gressus.

Et sic tota ecclesia monasterii cum choro et campanile continet 240 gressus meos.

⁶ boriali N. Longitudo capelle beate marie ex parte borrali⁶ chori vbi Thomas Beauford iacet sepultus continet 40 gressus.

Latitudo eius continet 21 gressus.

Longitudo de le chapiter houe continet 50 gressus.

Latitudo eius 20 gressus.

Longitudo de le ffrayter⁷ continet viii^m. xi.^s pedes *quod*⁸ 90 gressus latitudo 21 gressus.

Latitudo eius 40 pedes.

Longitudo Cripte Capelle beate marie subtus scrinio Sancti Edmundi continet 50 gressus.

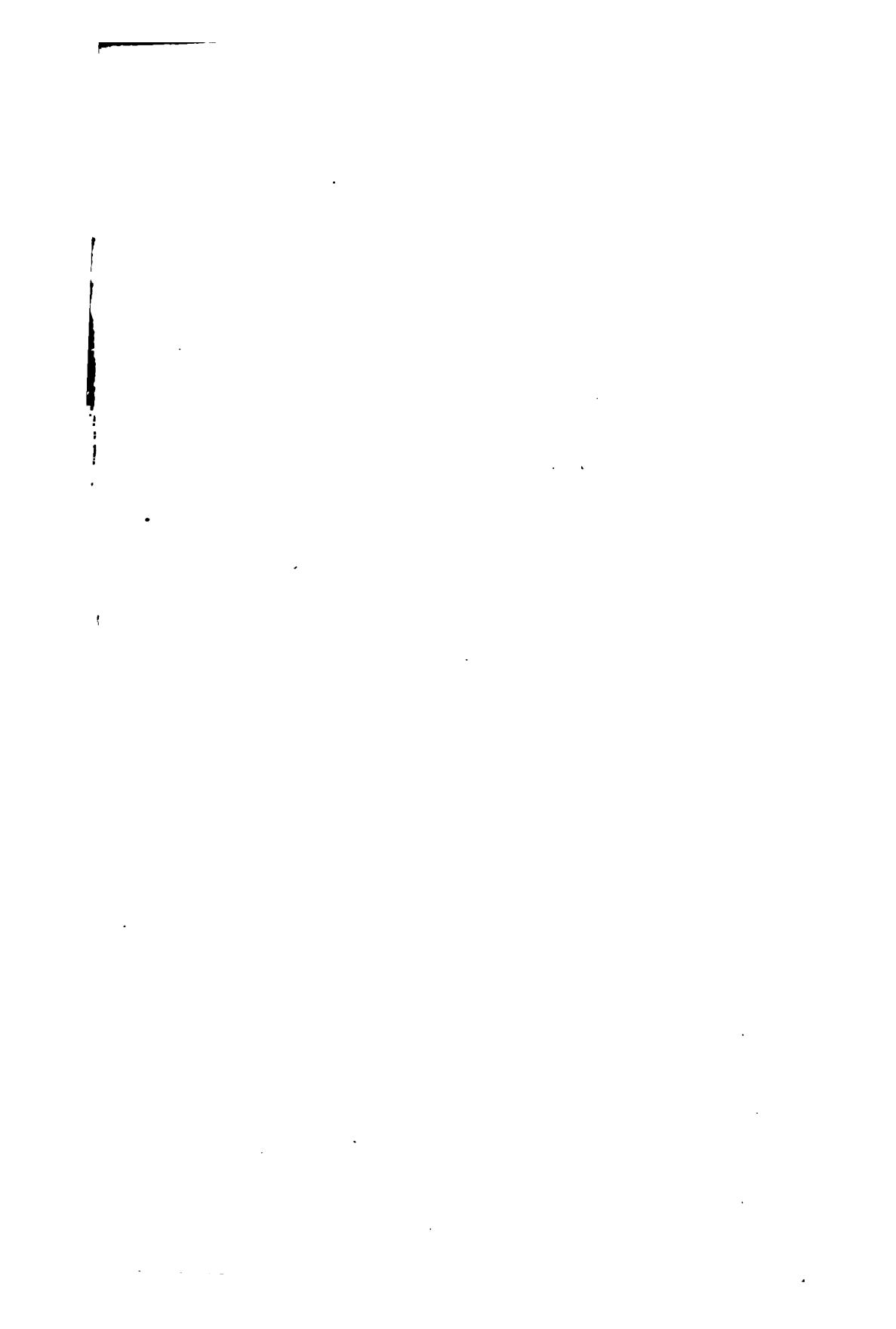
Latitudo eius continet¹⁰ 40 gressus vbi¹¹ est fons pulcherrimus.

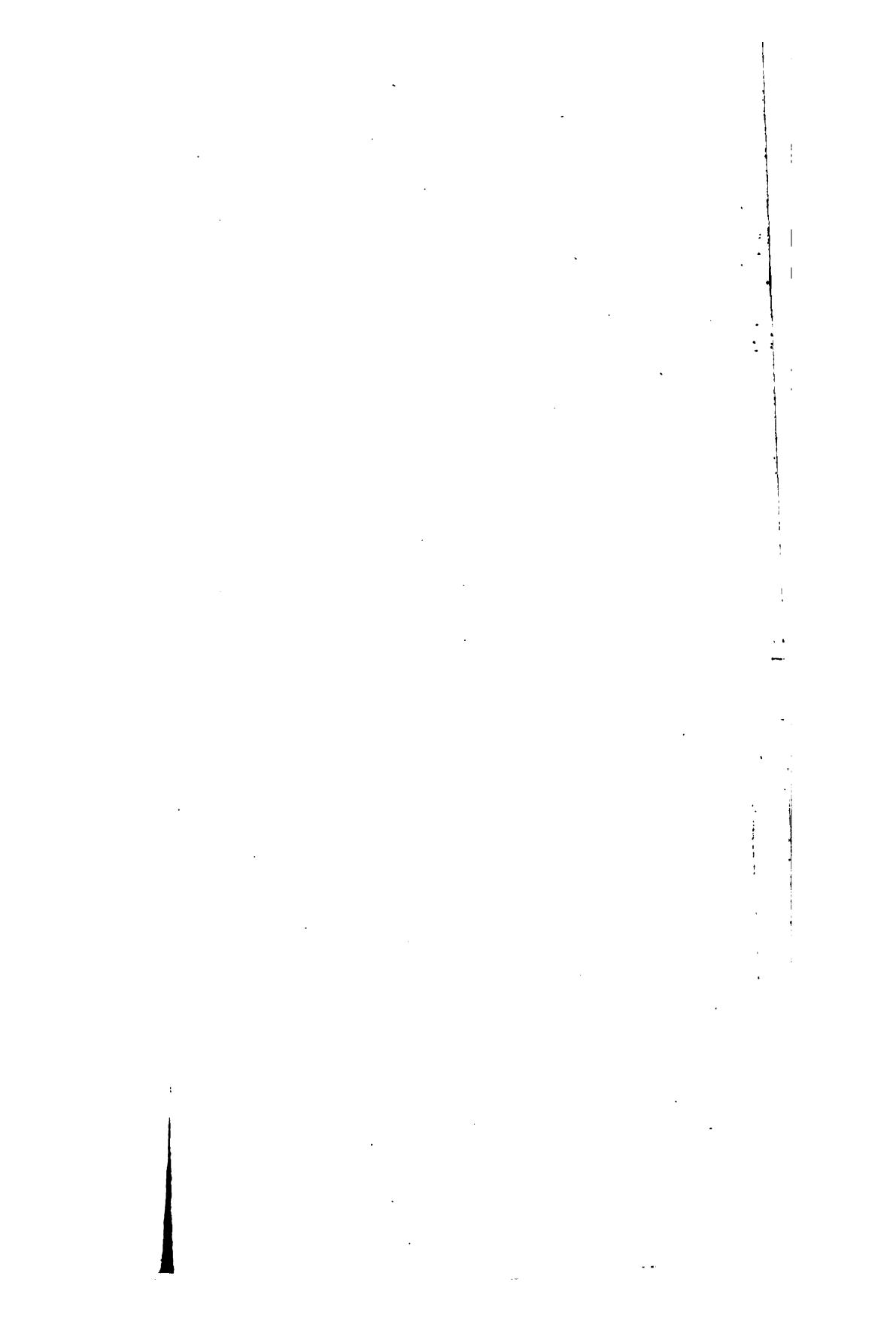
dedicacio dictae cripte beate marie 5 die nouembris.

Et in dicto spacio sunt 24 columpne.

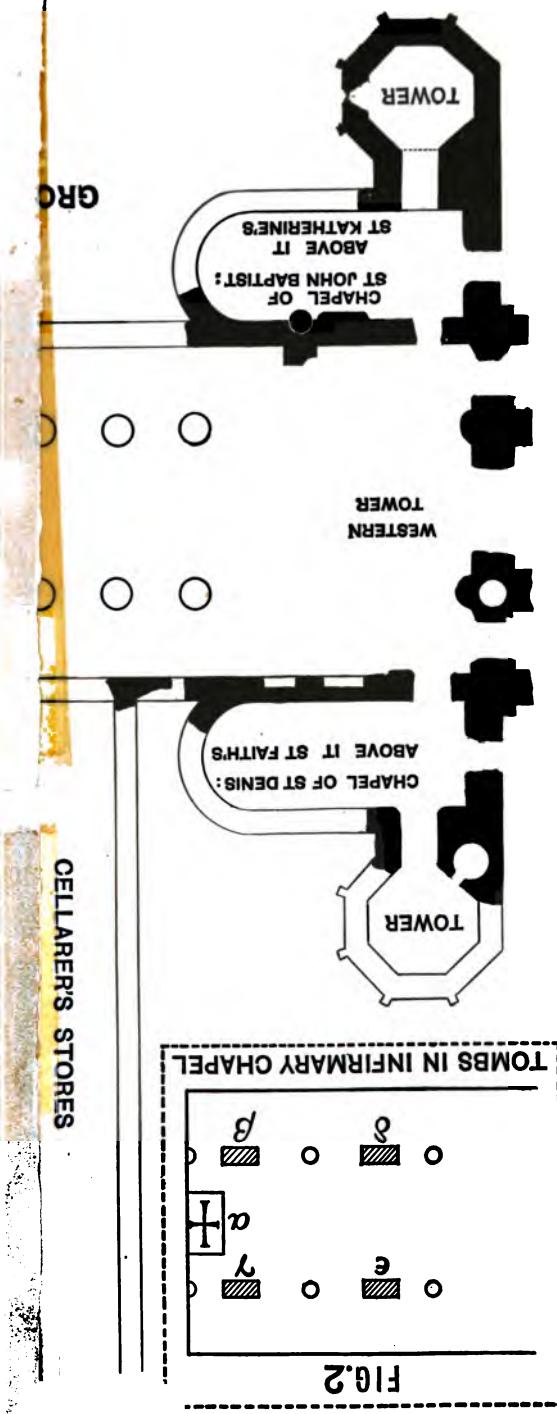
Followed by a memorandum about some timber.

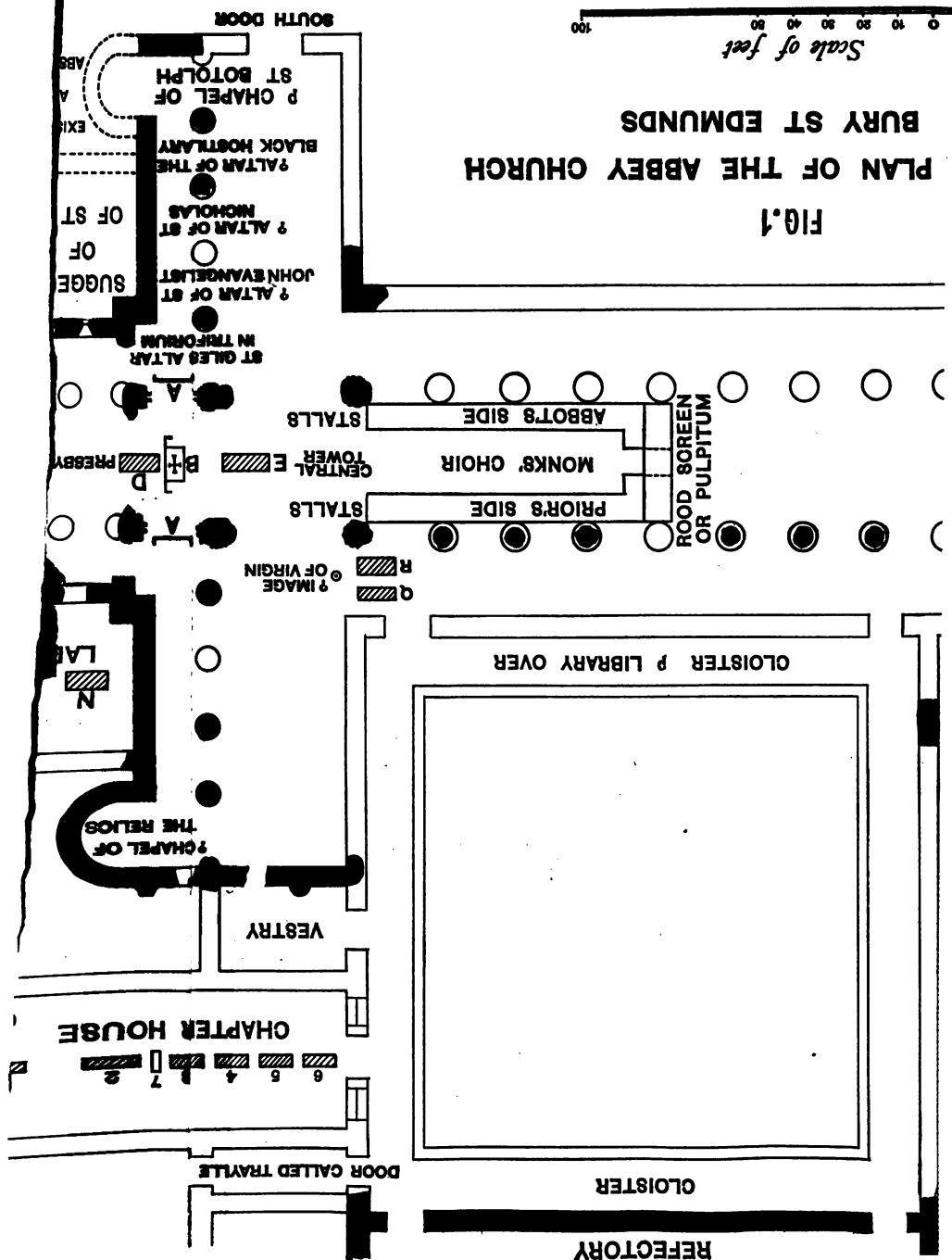






C. A. S. Octavo Series. XXVIII. To face p. 212.



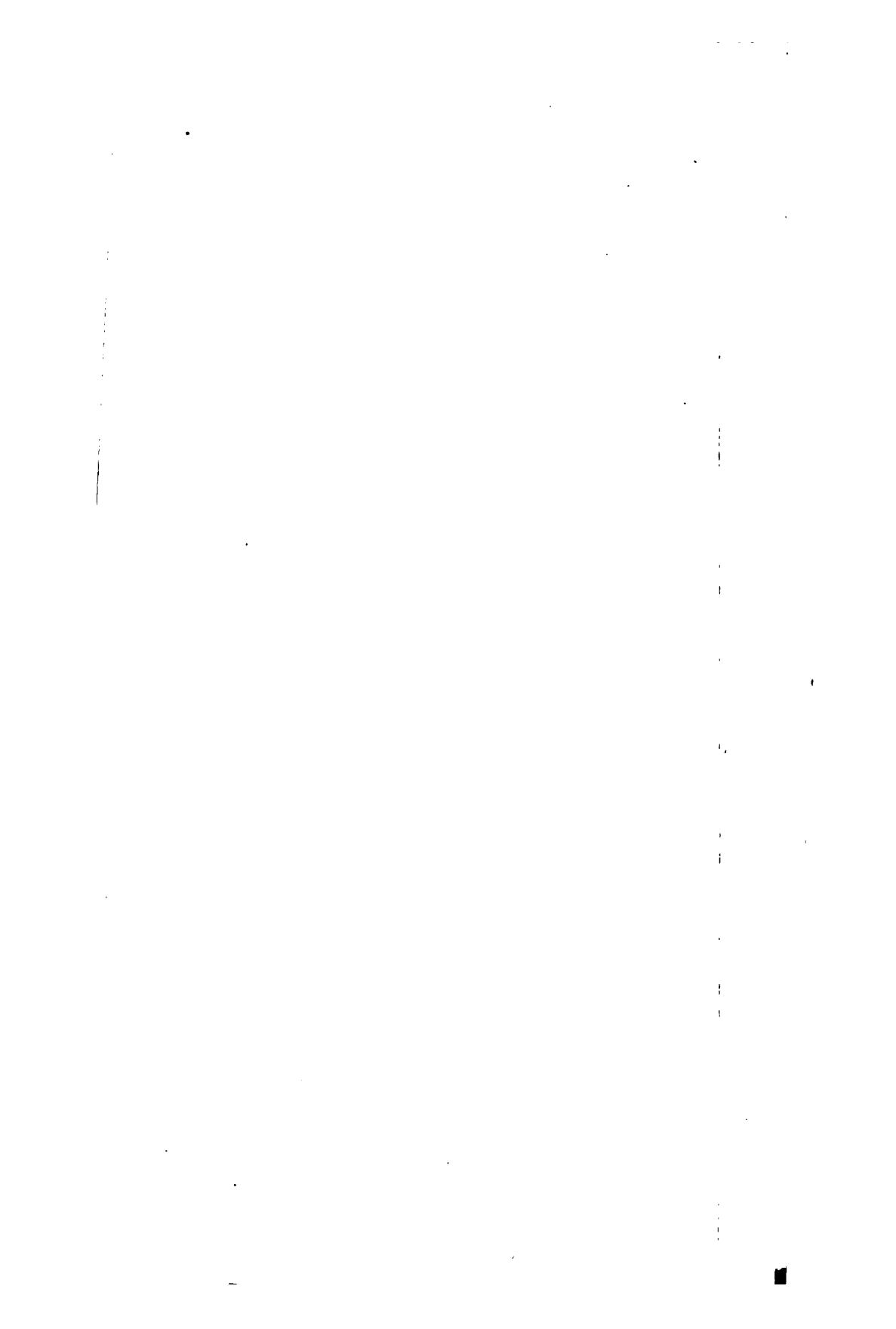


Scale of *so*

100 02 04 06 08 09 01 0

PLAN OF THE ABBEY CHURCH BURY ST EDMUNDS

FIG. 1



II.

p. 308 N.
p. 230 MS.

^o christi 1479. Ecclesia de Bury mense maj. longitudo Ecclesie Sancti Edmundi de Bury continet 240 gradus viz. capella beate marie vsque portam occidentalem. ¹² a N. Latitudo nauis ecclesie continet 46 gradus cum duobus Elys. Latitudo chori cum duobus Elys continet 42 gradus. Longitudo de le Chapitell hous continet 66 gradus. Latitudo eius continet 20 gradus. Longitudo magne curie continet 240 gradus. Latitudo eius (blank : N. omits this line). Longitudo claustris continet ex omni¹³ parte 90 gradus.

De anno obitus Thomae Brotherton comitis Norff.¹⁴
Mors mala, mors peior, mors pessima, predo virorum,
Mors trux, virorum raptrix violenta bonorum.
A numero milleno ter C quoque ter duodeno
Binarius detur numerus sic totus habetur.

Anno quo Wilelmus Elmham obiit, et iacet apud Berye.
Anno myl. domini c. quater ter si sibi pendas,
Transiit ille maii sexto decimoque Kalendas;
Urbem salvavit Bayon, et eam relevavit,
Hispaniae stravit regem, simul inde fugavit.
Quamplures alios grandes commiserat actus,
Unde super reliquos est grandis nomine factus.
P<1>ures vincebat, invictus et ipse manebat,
Vir subtilis erat, bellis semper fuit aptus.
In bello fuerat nunquam victus neque captus.
Fortis erat, sapiens, in bellis annosus....
Sanctus Robertus puer crucifixus per Judeos apud Bery: et dies Sanctus Robertus.
agitur die vii junij¹⁵ sed celebratur die maii. ¹⁶ maii N.

Then follow notes on the Churches of Thetford.

In Yates's *History of Bury* (vol. i) a plan of the Church is given, and William of Worcester's measurements are laid down upon it. See also vol. ii, p. 34. Yates's own measurements make the Church 505 ft. 6 in. long, the West Front 246 ft. broad, the Transept 241 ft. 6 in. broad.

From Gillingwater's *Historical and Descriptive Account*, 1804, p. 70.

"We shall here subjoin the following account of the dimensions of that grand and venerable edifice, the conventional church at Bury, as taken in the year 1790.

	Feet.	Will. Worc.
From the west door of the middle aisle to the centre of the west pillars at the foot of the belfry.	305	300 (taking 1 pace to be 2 ft.)
From the centre of the west pillars at the foot of the belfry to the centre of the east pillars of the belfry.	42	40
From the centre of one of the east pillars of the foot of the belfry to the skreen or pillar which di- vided the choir from the nave of the church.	25	
From the west door to the skreen at the choir.	372	
From the screen which divided the choir from the nave to the entrance into the building at the east end of the choir, called the sacristy (? really the Eastern Lady Chapel).	106	
The length of the sacristy	24	
[Hence the length of the choir from E. piers of tower to Lady Chapel is according to Gilling- water 106 + 25 + 24].	155	140
From the north door of the north transept to the corner pillar of the north aisle.	64	
From the centre of the corner pillar of the north aisle to the centre of the next pillar of the belfry between the aisles (i.e. the breadth of the N. aisle).	22½	
From thence to the opposite pillars (i.e. breadth of central tower).	40	
From thence to the corner pillars of the south transept (i.e. breadth of S. aisle).	22½	
From thence to the south door of [the] south transept as before.	64	
[Hence Gillingwater makes the length of transept and aisle together.]	86½	86
The length of the cross transepts of the Church from north to south.	213	[212]
The whole length of the Church.	502	480
The height of the pillars from the ground to the top.	24 "	

X. Leland. Comm. in Cygneam Cantionem. (*Itinerary*,
ed Hearne, 1744, vol. ix., p. 50.)

CURIA, Saxonice Byri...Quid ego hic pluribus collaudo Curiam verbis?
Unum hoc tantum addam, solem non videre urbem situ elegantiorum:
(sic molli delicata pendet in clivo, et rivulus ad orientem defluit) aut
coenobium illustrius, sive quis dotationem, seu amplitudinem, aut magni-
centiam incomparabilem aequis rationibus expendat. Diceres plane coe-

nobium urbem esse: tot portae, partim etiam aereae, tot turres, et templum quo nullum magnificentius, cui et alia tria egregio opere nitentia, uno et eodem coemeterio sita, subserviunt. Amniculus, de quo superius, mediis monasterii septis illabitur, dupli ponte arcuati operis pervius.

Leland, *Itinerary*, iv. (ed. 1744), pp. 153—155, has some notes on Bury, partly taken from the Douai Register, partly from some other, which I have not yet discovered. This second set of notes is headed:

*Ex libello de Esequiis nobilium virorum et Abbatum
sepulchorum in monasterio S. Edmundi.*

Ioannes de Gaunt dux Lancastriae septem fenestras vitreas fieri fecit in ecclesia ex parte australi.

[These are certainly not among the windows described in the Heralds' College MS. They may have been in the nave clerestory.]

Ioannes rex Angliae dedit S. Edmundo unum sapphyrum virtuosum, et unum rubeum sive carbunculum magni valoris.

Thomas [de Tottington] Abbas dedit magnam copiam vasorum argenteorum monasterio S. Edmundi.

Ioannes Lavenham sacrista fecit et fieri procuravit in ecclesia S. Edmundi infra spatium 26 annorum campanile nouum supra chorum pretio 866 lib. 13 solidis et 4 denariis. Fecit fieri et maximam campanam pretio centum triginta trium librarum, sex solidorum et octo denariorum.

Sampson Abbas...lavatoria opere mirifico et magnitudine admiranda consummavit.

[The work of Sampson on the lavatory is, as I now see, described in the *Gesta Sacristarum* (*Mem.* ii. 292) among the works of Walter de Banham, Sampson's sacrist, in the following terms. "Sanatorium, morte preuentus, ad plenum non consummauit. Sed tamen quicquid ibi uidemus in marmore aut in imaginibus deauratis, et in opere caementario, facto iam sive faciendo totum fecit." In both Leland and the *Gesta*, the lines I have printed are immediately preceded by a notice of the waterworks. In the *Gesta* the *Monasticon* reads, no doubt rightly, *Lauatorium* for Sanatorium. In fact, I cannot think what a 'Sanatorium' would be in a monastery, unless it were the infirmary; which, in this place, it assuredly is not. Some of the ornaments of the Lavatory are described in the Heralds' College MS.

John Lavenham's central tower was probably a rebuilding, after the fall in 1210. It was surmounted by a tall wooden spire, of which we hear for the first time in the account of the fire of 1465.]

In the *View of the Mitred Abbeys*, appended to Leland's *Collectanea* (vi. p. 138, London, 1770) are notes of Benefactions taken from the *Itinerary*, with some new details.

John Lavenham made a new Tower for Bells over the choir of St Edmund's Church, which was 26 years in Building and cost him 866*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He likewise gave a great Bell, which cost 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and must have weighed (as I gather from a Note I have seen of the Valuation of the Abbey Bells after the Reformation, when they were exposed to Sale) upwards of seven thousand Pounds.

Also in the *Collectanea*, i. 224.

Stephanus comes Britanniae dedit terras in Cambrige pro anima Alani fratri sui comitis Britanniae qui jacet ad ostium australe in ecclesia S. Edmundi coram altare (-i) S. Nicolai.

This confirms my belief that S. Nicholas' Chapel was in the South Transept: see above in the Extracts from Annals of Bury (p. 344).

XI. From Tymms's *Bury Wills and Inventories*, Camden Society, 1850.

Lady Ela Shardelowe, 1457, (p. 13).

Item logo sacriste monasterii S. Edmundi ii*s* iii*d.*

Item logo ad reparacionem ornementorum in uestibulo ecclesie predicti. vis viijd.

Item logo fferetro S. Edmundi vnum monile aureum cum figura cerui impressa.

Item logo reparacioni ornementorum altaris S. Martini in eadem ecclesia x*s.*

Item logo ad fabricam noui campanilis monasterii de Bury cs.

John Baret, 1463, (p. 35).

Item I geve and beqwethe to Seynt Edmond and his schryne my hevy peys noble wiche weyeth xx*s.* and my best herte of gold with aungellys and a ruby with iii*j* labellys of white innamyl, the seid noble and the seid broche herte of gold to be hange, naylyd, and festnyd vpon the shryne onder my coste by the avys of myn executours wher they and the ffertrerry (feretrarii) thynke and fynde a place moost convenient, to the wourshippe of God and Seynt Edmund.

William Baret, 1502 (p. 94).

Item I bequeethe to y^r beldyng of the newe stepill in the monastery of Seynt Edmond in Bury forseid, x*s.*

Anne Baret, 1504, leaves 5 marks to the same (p. 97).

William Place, priest, 1504 (p. 105).

Item I beqweth to the monastery of Seynt Edmund forseid my book of the dowtes of Holy Scryptur, to ly and remayn in the cloyster of the seid monastery as long as yt wyll ther indure.

Maister Henry Rudde, doctor, 1506 (p. 107).

My body to be buried in the monastery of Seynt Edmond byfor Seynt Crystofer. Item I beyqueth toward the makyng of ij blynde wyndowes in the said monastery and be syde Seynt Christopher x*li.*

John Gage Rokewode, in his article on the Bell-Tower of the Abbey, *Archaeologia* xxiii. 331, gives notices of bequests to the building of the tower by the following persons:

John Hert, 1441.

Dionysia Redgys, 1449.

John Amy Chaplain, 1461: he leaves his body to be buried 'sub lapide iacente in magno ostio noui campanilis monasterii S. Edmundi in Bury predict.'

Matt. Robert, 1465.

Tho. Eden, 1495.

Gul. Legat, 1500.

XII. Letters of Commissioners: from the *Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, 1843, ed. T. Wright.

p. 85.

John ap Rice to Cromwell.

Please it your mastership, forasmuche as I suppose ye shall have sute made unto yow touching Burie er we retourne, I thought convenient to advertise yow of our procedinges there, and also of the compertes of the same. As for thabbot, we found nothing suspect as touching his lyving, but it was detected that he laye moche forth in his granges, that he delited moche in playing at dice and cardes, and therin spent moche money, and in buylding for his pleasure. He did not preche openly. Also that he converted divers fermes into copie holdes, wherof poore men doth complayne. Also he semeth to be addict to the mayntenyng of suche superstitious ceremones as hathe ben used hertofer.

As touching the convent, we coulde geate litle or no reportes amounghe theym, although we did use moche diligence in our examinacion, and therby, with some other argumentes gethered of their examinacions, I fermely beleve and suppose that they had confedered and compacted before our commyng that they shulde disclose nothing. And yet it is confessed and proved that there was here suche frequence of women commyng and reassorting to this monastery as to no place more. Amongest the reliques we founde moche vanitie and superstition, as the coles that Saint Laurence was tosted withal, the paring of S. Edmundes naylles, S. Thomas of Canterbury penneknyff and his bootes, and divers skulls for the hedache; peces of the holie crosse able to make a hole crosse of; other reliques for rayne and certain other superstitiouse usages, for avoyding of wedes growing in corne, with suche other. Here departe of theym that be under age upon an eight, and of theym that be above age upon a five wolde departe yf they might, and they be of the best sorte in the house, and of best lernynge and jugement. The hole number of the covent before we cam was ix saving one, beside

ijj that were at Oxforde. Of Elie I have written to your mastership by my felowe Richard a Lee. And thus Almichtie God have you in his tuicion. From Burie, vth Novembre.

Your servant moste bounden
John ap Rice.

The contemptible creature who wrote these lines shows his hand very plainly in the first part of the letter. It is evident that John Reeve (or Melford), who is the abbot referred to, was a man not in advance of his time, and that is the worst that could be said of him. It is equally clear that the Commissioners had ferreted about in any and every direction for scandalous tales against the abbot and the monks: and that the abbey of Bury ^{had} compared most favourably in respect of decent religious life with some of its smaller neighbours. As to the 'frequence of women' resorting to the monastery, we are carefully not told whether it was to the Church or to the domestic buildings that they came.

We gain a little information about the relics. The coals of St Lawrence were very likely kept in his chapel, which was in the guest-house: the parings of St Edmund's nayles were those which the devout woman Oswen had cut from the corpse, in Saxon times: the relics of St Thomas probably were in his shrine, at the east end of the Church. The pieces of the true cross able to make a whole cross of (he is probably laughing at the number and size of them) were perhaps in one of the crosses in the Chapel of the Holy Cross (the S.E. apse). Weever tells us in his *Funeral Monuments* that the skull of S. Petronilla was used to cure agues, and that the bones of S. Botolph were carried about the fields, and prevented darnell and tares from growing.

The sentence that begins "Here deparate of them" etc., means that of those under age in the monastery about eight were willing to go, and of those above age about five. The three monks at Oxford were no doubt at Gloucester Hall, with which Bury had a regular connexion.

Ibid. p. 144.

The Commissioners to Cromwell.

Pleasith it your lordship to be advertysed that wee have ben at saynt Edmondee Bury, where we founde a riche shryne whiche was very comberous to deface. We have takyn in the seyd monastery in golde and sylver m^l. m^l. m^l. m^l. m^l. markes, and above, over and besydes a well and riche crosse with emereddes, as also dyvers and sundry stones of great value, and yet we have lefte the churche, abbott, and covent very well ffurnesshed with plate of sylver necessary for the same. [The Commissioners then state that they do not much like the idea of going to Ely, having heard that 'the sykenes' was there; but that they would enquire.] And this present day we deparate from Bury towardes Ely, and we assure your

lordship the abbott and convent be very well contented with every thyng that we have done there, as knowith God, woo preserve your lordshipp.

Your Lordeshippe moste bownden

John Williams.
Rychard Pollard.
Phylip Parys.
John Smyth.

The defacing of the shrine need not have extended further than stripping it of the metal plating. It was very likely not opened; so that the non-mention of S. Edmund's bones cannot be used as a strong confirmation of the story that they had been removed by Lewis of France in 1216 and were now at Toulouse (where they are still shown).

The cross with emeralds was probably Henry Lacy's.

It is difficult to believe that the abbot and convent were really 'very well contented' with any or all of the Commissioners' proceedings, though it may be that they 'took cheerfully the spoiling of their goods.'

XIII. It is here necessary to add a copy of Sir Henry Spelman's verses upon a painted window which he ostensibly saw at Bury. I have had to transcribe it from Yates's *History of Bury*, p. 177 sqq. He in turn took it from Sir James Burrough's *Collectanea Buriensia*, the property of S. James' Parish at Bury: and the original is "said to be among Sir Henry Spelman's MSS."

ICONOTYPICON¹ BURIENSE.

There is a town in Suffolk where was an abbey of St Edmund. Buildings of many dates, of hewn stone, with columns, and roofs carved with saintly images, walls, gates, etc. a city in itself.	Est locus Icenas inter celeberrimus urbes, Frugiferis campis, et amoeno in sidere laetus : Quo fuit Edmundo ² structura opibusque superbum, Coenobium antiquum, diui de nomine dictum. Ilic congeries multorum splendida regum, Multarum aetatum manibus fabricata magistris Quadrato ex lapide, et sublimibus alta columnis Marmore conspicuis, laqueato in uestice textu ³ Sidereos referens mortali in imagine uultus ⁴ . Moenia quid memorem pinnis educta ? quid arces Offerrem bifores, penetralia multa uicissim, In coelum iunctis iterantia culmina tectis ? Dixeris eximiam spatiis breuioribus urbem ⁵ .	5 10
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¹ or ICOTYPICON.

² l. Edmundi.

³ ? tecti.

⁴ v. l. fastus.

⁵ Cf. Leland's panegyric.

In one large chamber in the Cellarer's lodgings was a painted window in two main divisions still perfect, though likely to decay, representing prophetically the true and false churches. At the top of the left-hand picture is the Pope in gorgeous robes and triple crown, and nimbus.	Hic aditus inter uarios uariosque recessus, Conclavi in magno quo cellararius olim Degebat (custos rationum creditur esse) Vitreu luminibus speciosa fenestra duobus Integra constabat, longa at peritura senecta, Qua fuit a proauis depicta, nepotibus olim Miranda, haec series uenturi praesicia saecli.	15
	Pingitur in gemina spectanti <i>Ecclesia</i> forma Haec uera, haec falsa, et manifestis utraque signia. Altius in summo partis super omne sinistram Elatus solo spatiatur <i>Papa</i> superbo, Murice sanguineo rutilans, cui limbus in ora	20
	Latus obit chlamydem gemmis operosus et auro : Auro picta uiget tota et sub tegmine uestis Plumata ludens textura et consita circum Margine gemmifero; triplicique coruscus in auro	25
	Attollit sublime caput diademate, regni In specimen triplicis, coelorum, terrae, et abyssi. Neue homo mortali uideatur tegmine amictus, Numinis indicium radii sua tempora cingunt.	30
He holds his orb in his right hand; with the left he grasps at gifts. The clergy surround him, monks, friars, abbots, bishops, hermits. Only Cardinals are not represented: perhaps because not then known. Kings crowd round the throne, bringing gifts: one resigns his crown. The sale of indulgences is elsewhere shown and (apparently) souls rising from purgatory.	Dextra triumphatis captiuum comprimit orbem Regibus illius, qui sub moderamine florens Pingitur; et laeva rapit impiger undique dona. Stat circumfusus multo molimine <i>Clerus</i> , Hinc monachi, hinc fratres, hinc coenobiarcha, sacerdos, Pontifices, uillisque senex hirsutus eremi, Quique admiratur Romana crepundia (uanae	35
	Religionis opes), globulosque, crucesque ferentes. Solus abest petaso qui fulget totus et ostro, Cardine nomen habens; quia tum decor ille per orbem Esset adhuc nostrum ⁶ , uel non bene cognitus orbe. ⁷	40
	Interea occludunt reges proceresque scabellum, Suppliciterque colunt sceleratum poplite numen, Sacrae et auaritiae libent ⁸ : fert iste superbum Ex auro donum: nummis agit alter: at ille	45
	Temone excusus regni diadema resignat. Parte alia pensant auro, de morte redemptos	50
	In coelum ut referant proauos, quos ⁹ ergo sepulchris Surgentes uideas, sic stultae illudere plebi. Ante pedes lictor redimitus tempora sertis Caedibus exultat, toto et furibundus in ore,	55
	Hinc gladio, hinc serra decerpit membra priorum.	

⁶ nondum *probably*.⁷ orbem MS.⁸ *i. libant.*⁹ sed et sic MS.

An armed official executing victims with sword and saw.	Nec procul astabat scelerati buccina uerbi Insulsus frater, tonsis de more capillis, Impia sacrilegis strepitans sua dogmata labris : Cuius, ut attoniti, grauidum quasi numine pectus Mirantur comites, palmisque oculisque supinis : Ore uiri daemon modulantibus impiger alis Ludit, et egregii laudat mendacia uatis.	60
A friar preaching at the admiring audience, a demon hovering over him.	Hoc erat in superis. Humilem sed et altera partem Occupat effigies penitus contraria primae. Cernitur apricis campis grandaeus <i>Helias</i> Simplex fronte, comis nudus, pedes ipse, nec ullo Elatus fastu, procerum consortia nulla, Obsequium nullum : sacrum sed pectus anhelat Acceptum coelis uerbum, purumque per omnes Diffundit populos, pecus omne per auia quaerit, Dispersumque gregem domini sub ouile reducit, Et quibus erratum est longo docet ordine rebus ; Quaeque tenenda uia est, et quae sit fugienda uicissim.	65
In the lower part of the picture is the prophet Elias, with no pomp or circumstance, preaching the true faith.	Non decreta hominum, iura aut papalia uitam Largiri, aut trepidas reuocari e faucibus umbras Infernisi pretio, supera uel in arce locari : Unum iter et stadium, sacroque uolumine totum Hoc constare, ultraque nihil citraue petendum. [A marginal reading gave a different version of these lines, thus :	70
Friar, monk, and priest deride him and show their anger, or sleep during the discourse.	Nulla moranda hominum decreta, nec esse sub astris Compita coelestis regni, monet omnibus unum Esse salutis iter, sacroque uolumine solum Hoc constare, ultraque nihil citraue petendum.] Sic uelut effatur, populique tenacius aures Astringit, mentesque sacris ardoribus implet.	75
In the right-hand half of the window, at the top, is St Paul ; below, Malachi.	Tota sed interea frendet Romana caterua, Ima tenens ; frater, monachus, simul atque sacerdos ; Verberat hic terram pedibus, nasoque retento Faetorem sanctis simulat procedere labria. Obstruit ille aures, spenitique procacius ipsum Diuinum eloquium : dormit sed tertius expers Curarum, et nihili pendit pia uerba prophetae. Has tenet ambages pars illa sinistra feneestrae : Prouehor ad dextram, qua <i>Paulus Apostolus</i> omne Quod super est spatium, <i>Malachias</i> possidet imum : Elogium reffert affixum in uertice uterque : Thessaliae scripsit quod Paulus ciuibus olim Perstringens oculis, sic uoce manuque minatur :	80
		85
		90

Each has an inscribed label; St Paul's is from 2 Thess.	"Non remoranda dies fatorum maximus ille Terminus, instanti sed ut Hesperus ecce praebit Judicium hoc certum, summo de culmine primum Decidet alma fides, passimque recessus in orbe Religionis erit. Proles sed et ipsa nefandae Perditionis, adhuc latitat quae in semine, adulta Tum fiet manifesta palam, manifestus et ille Impietatis homo, summum contrarius ipsum Qui super effertur numen, super omne quod usquam Vel cultum est dictumue Deus: quin, percitus aestu Insano, templo ille Dei sedet impius, instar Numinis, atque deum stupefacto se exhibet orbi."	95
"That day shall not come, except there be a falling off first, etc."	Scribitur ensiferi tota haec narratio Pauli. Vertice terque caput circum Antichristus habetur Adscriptum Papae, foret ut manifesta proteruis, Bacchantem ludens pateris Ecclesia mundum. Subsidet infernis <i>Malachias</i> canus, Eliae	100
St Paul has a sword.	E regione situs, diuini et gratus amoris Nuncius errantes per plurima saecula gentes Sic pius alloquitur, scriptis pulchro ordine uerbis: "Magna dies ueniet, seris uoluenda sub annis Qua terrae centrum coeli cum uertice miscet	105
The Pope has the name Antichrist thrice inscribed round his head.	Omnipotens Dominus, rerumque a cardine totus Corruet horrendis arreptus ab ignibus orbis. Sed prius, exigui memor ille salutis ouilis, En, ait, ipse sinu uobis legatus Helias	110
Malachi, opposite to Elias, has on his scroll: "Behold I send you Elijah the prophet, etc."	Adfuerit nostro, patrumque tumentia mitis Pectora mulcebit natos aduersus, et ipso Ad patres placida compostos pace reducet, Ne ueniens sternam totas anathemate terras."	115
He points to Elias, who symbolizes the Reformed clergy.	Haec ait, et dige praesentem ostendit Heliam (Agmine disiunctum Romano) omnemque sub illa Effigie clerum, purgati semina uerbi Undique per populos frendentem: Ecclesia tandem	120
When the day came for the destruction of the abbey, the glory of East Anglia, the person charged with the work saw and marvelled at this picture, and sent for a painter who copied it.	Antiquam reparet, solio pereunte, nitorem. Haec pictor uitreis concluserat omnia formis, Cumque suprema dies aderat, qua funditus imo Eset ab inuita iamiam perdenda bipenni, Tot regum tam illustre decus, domus omnis Eoae	125
	Gentis honos, tremulo et starent sub uertice turre, Verbere nutantes crebro, gemitumque ferentes In coelum terramque simul, partesque per omnes	130
	Culmina corruerent laxo in compagine fulcro; Historiam hanc totam cladis uidet ipse minister	135

Many copies now exist in that district; and an eye-witness assured me of the truth of the matter.

Miratusque animo, magna comitante ceterua
Pictorem acciuit; tricisque fideliter ipse¹⁰
Plurima descripuit uiua exemplaria primo,
Hactenus in populo spectanda frequentius illo.
Et mihi saepe fidem, qui uiderat omnia, strixit.

140

¹⁰ ipsis MS.

There is further (printed by Yates, p. 182, from the *Collectanea Buriensis*) a letter from Spelman to Abp. Ussher, dated Westminster, May 18, 1621, on the subject of a print of this window, which was then in preparation. The important passages are as follows: "I wrote unto you touching the monument in Bury Abby, which the cutter going then in hand with, came to me about, as directed by your Lordship. I was bold to stay him for the time: and signified by those letters that I thought much exception might be taken to the credit of the monument: for that both the ends of the upper labell pictured in the glass, over the head of Antichrist, are strecht out so far as they rest not in the glass, but run on either way on the strong pillars, which, as your Lordship knows, could not possibly be so in the window itself. How it cometh to pass I do not know, whether by the rashness of the painter (not heeding so light a matter, as he might take it), or that, perhaps, those which in the picture seem to be pillars of the window, were but painted pillars in the glass itself, and so the whole window but one pannel. I cannot determine this doubt: but out of all doubt such a picture there was, and taken out exactly by a painter then: as a right honest old gentleman, who saw it standing in the abby window, and the painter that took it out, did often tell me about forty years since; affirming the picture now at the cutter's to be the true pattern thereof; but, at that time, my understanding not to make this doubt, if I had, he perhaps could have resolved it me. For my own part, though I think it fitter in this respect not to be published, as doth also Sir H. Bourgchier, yet I leave it to your direction, which the cutter hitherto expecteth."

The evidence here given seems sufficient to show that a window of the kind described really existed; but whether it may not have been wrongly deciphered by the copyist or by Spelman is not so clear. I have little doubt that the so-called 'Friar preaching, with a devil by him,' was a picture of Antichrist preaching: and it is possible that the artist may also have represented Antichrist as usurping the habits and office of the Pope; or,—and this would be rather a different matter—the composition may quite possibly have contained a protest against the venality and corruption of the Roman Court, of which medieval satirists tell us so much, without being in the least degree what Spelman evidently took it for, namely, a conscious protest against Romanism, and prophecy of the Reformation. It is quite possible that one of the copies of the window may be still in existence and unidentified; the rediscovery of it would help,

more than anything else, to decide the question of the real existence of the glass.

I may add that Mr Gordon Hills shows good reason for placing the cellarer's house just N.E. of S. James's Church.

XIV. In a note in the *Monasticon* (iii. 113) the account of Henry VI.'s visit to the Abbey in 1433 is printed in full. It was also given in the *Archæologia*, xv. 65—71, from Abbot Curteys' Register (Brit. Mus. Add. 14848).

I extract a few phrases, which are all that throw light on the topography of the buildings with which we are concerned.

The burgesses escorted the king from Newmarket Heath 'usque in procinctum dicti Monasterii (quem propter fracti campanilis deformitatem et lapidum infirmorum ruinam ex ea parte processio recipere non est ausa) usque in medium uiam inter portam et ostium australe dicti monasterii,' where he alighted and went to a silk-hung canopy and adored the cross. He was then censed by the bishop of Norwich and the Abbot, 'et cruce allata per eundem ori regio primitus osculanda, processio ad summum altare procedens cum antiphona *Aus gentis rex Anglorum* notas harmoniae suauiter eructando cantantibus organis introduxit.' He then prayed at the shrine, and went to the Abbot's palace. It was, no doubt, on this occasion that Lydgate presented the copy of S. Edmund's Life which is now in the British Museum (Harl. 2278).

Another note in the *Monasticon* (iii. 114) deserves to be printed here:

Connected in some degree with this visit, or at least with the time of abbot Curteys, are the shutters of the altar of St Edmund's Bury Abbey, now in the building called the Chapel at Strawberry Hill. Dr Lort having given Mr Horace Walpole (afterwards Lord Orford) a sight of abbot Curteys's Register, received a letter from him dated June 4th, 1779, of which the following is an extract:

"The sight of the MS. was particularly welcome to me, because the long visit of Henry VI. and his uncle Gloucester to St Edmund's Bury accounts for those rare altar tablets, that I bought at Mr Ives's sale, on which are incontestably the portraits of Duke Humphrey, Cardinal Beaufort, and the same archbishop that is in my *Marriage of Henry VI.* I know the house of Lancaster were patrons of St Edmund's Bury: but so long a visit is demonstration. The fourth person on my pannels is unknown. Over his head is a coat of arms. It may be that of W. Curteys the abbot—or the alderman, as he is in scarlet. His figure and the duke's are far superior to the other two, and worthy of a good Italian master. The cardinal and the archbishop are in the dry hard manner of the age. I wish you would call and look at them: they are at Mr Bonus's in Oxford road: the two prelates are much damaged. I peremptorily enjoined Bonus to repair

only and not repaint them; and thus by putting him out of his way, I put him so much out of humour too, that he has kept them these two years, and not finished them yet. I design them for the four void spaces in my chapel, on the sides of the shrine. The duke of Gloucester's face is so like the younger, that it proves I guessed right at his figure in my marriage. The tablets came out of the abbey of Bury, were procured by old Peter le Neve, Norroy, and came by his widow's marriage to Tom Martin, at whose sale Mr Ives bought them. We have very few princely portraits so ancient, so authentic, and none so well painted, as the duke and fourth person. These were the insides of the doors, which I had split into two, and value them extremely. This account, I think, will be more satisfactory to you than Notes. Pray tell me how you like the pictures when you have examined them. I shall search in Edmundson's new *Vocabulary of Arms* for the coat, which contains three bulls' heads on six pieces: but the colours are either white and black, or the latter is become so by time."

I have not traced the history of these painted panels; and shall be very glad of any information about them. The font and its cover now in Worlingworth Church, Suffolk, are said to have come from the Abbey Church at Bury.

XV. Edmund Gillingwater's *Historical and Descriptive Account of St Edmund's Bury*, 1804, contains very little to our purpose. A note on p. 65 is interesting, and I reproduce it with the faint hope that the model of the church which it describes may yet be in existence in some lumber-room. It must have been a work of some age, though most likely of little merit.

"A very curious Model of this church (the Abbey Church) was to be seen some years ago at Mr Tillot's, on the Angel-Hill; it was ten feet long, five feet wide, and of a proportionate height, containing 300 niches and 280 windows, adorned with images and other Gothic figures. The Model of St Edmund's shrine was ornamented with images and crowns, gilt, as in its original state, and there were also twelve chapels, which belonged to this once magnificent church. A model of the Abbey was likewise to be seen at Newmarket, about fifty years ago, but whether this be the same as that above mentioned, we are not able to say."

Gillingwater's measurements of the remains of the Abbey (p. 70 sqq.) I have appended to William of Worcester's text (p. 354).

Mr Edward King in *Archaeologia*, iii. 313, gives a revised plan of the church and a short paper descriptive of it: the new features are the Lady chapel on the north, and apsidal chapels on the transepts. Of these last he only says: "It even appears that there was also another small chapel,

terminated by a semicircular bow at the side of (the Lady Chapel)." He says nothing of the corresponding chapel on the S. Transept: and it is quite possible that none existed there.

XVI. MSS. Harl. 3977.

A folio of early xivth century, finely written, for the most part in double columns. On f. 1 a, otherwise blank, is an erased press-mark which seems to be C. 65.

ff. 1 b, 2 a have a table of contents in a xvth century hand, possibly that which I call the Librarian's, and suppose to be Boston of Bury's writing.

The book begins with the *Doctrina Noviciorum*.

They are met on the day of admission by their *magistri* at the *hostium parlorii*, and thence are taken to the *parvum parlorium*; then to the Chapter house, where they stand *ante pulpitum*: they make their demand for admission in French: Nus priuns la misericord deu e nostre dame seinte marie et nostre seignur seint Edmun e la uostre e vous priuns par seinte charite ke vous nus grantez moniage.

Thence to the infirmary where they are shaved: then *ad hostium traylle* where they are warned against going out without leave: then *ad S. Sabam*, to be taught the rule and customs, et per nouem dies sedeant apud S. Sabam (or more if necessary).

Hence they go *ad claustrum*: et sedeant omnes iuxta parietem prima die habentes psalteria in manibus incipientes ruminare lectionem. Thence they go *ad parvum parlorium*.

After a year profession is made. Before it they go with their *magistri* to S. Saba, or elsewhere in the church: they put off their frocks: then iterum froggos induant sine cucullis, portantes cucullos in sinistris brachiis et breuia in dextris. On the second day "ducantur ad missam S. Marie uel ad S. Sabam et communicentur a magistris suis."

A penitent under *gravis culpa* f. 6 b: "pergit in ecclesiam usque ad magnum hostium chori *scilicet* in medio loco inter pulpitum et predictum hostium, et ibi debet sedere super magnum scamnum: ...post matutinas ante crucem coram armariolo in medio": this last seems to be in the cloister.

One under *levius culpa* "sits in choro super misericordias:

misericordias dico erectas." He also sits "in claustro ad hostium ecclesie s. super lapidem inter duas paruas columpnas."

He who sits *super trunculum*, sits "in medio capituli s. inter lectrinum et pedes abbatis Ricardi."

Of candles f. 11: Item in omnibus festis *iiii^{or}* caparum a primis uesperis usque ad secundas accenduntur omnes cerei scil. x et vii supra circa S. Edmundum et v ante magnum altare et duo ante altare S. Botulfi et *iiii^{or}* super altare in choro.

Liberaciones cere...in festo S. Edmundi. This text is printed from the *Liber Albus*, in the *Monasticon*, iii. 162. It occurs also in *Registrum Pinchebeck* (Univ. Libr. Ee. iii. 60).

iiii^{or} circa corpus beati Aedmundi de *xii* libris.

xxiiii^{or} cerei in circuitu beati martiris de *xxiiii* libris.

Item v cerei (ad candelabrum *Reg. Pinch.*) ante altare et vii in magno candelabro de *xlviii* libris.

Item in choro et ad magnam crucem *xii* cerei de *xii* libr.

Item ad S. Sabam et ad martirum (martires *Reg. Pinch.*) et ad crucem *iii* cereos de *iii* libr.

Item ad *xvii* fenestras in presbiterio *xvii* cereos de *xvii* libr.

Item in magna turri *xii* cereos de *xii* libr.

Item in cruce ecclesie ex utraque parte *xxvi* cereos de *xxvi* libr.

Item in naui ecclesie ex utraque parte *xxiiii^{or}* cereos de *xxiiii* libr.

Item *xiiii^{dm}* altaribus *xxviii* cerei de *xxviii* libr. si abbas fuerit presens.

Item ad altare beate Marie ex dono Iohannis filii Luce v cereos de *x* libr.

Item ibidem de sacrista *vii* cereos de *xiiii* libr.

Item uestiarius (In uestuario *Reg. Pinch.*) *iiii^{or}* cereos de *x* libr.

Item refectorarius *xx* cereos de *xx* libr. Et similiter ad festum S. Michaelis et ad natale domini: et a die purificacionis usque ad festum S. Michaelis debet sacrista inuenire duo cereos quando necesse fuerit ad paruam mensam (missam *Monasticon*) in refectorio. In capitulo *ii* cereos de *ii* libr.

Liberaciones ecclesie qualibet septimana. (*Monasticon, l. c.*)

Duo de vestiar. *xii^d.*

Custos uiridis hostii *vj^d.*

This 'green gate' was a door on the north side of the choir.

Capellanus uestiar. [blank] *vi^d.*

Cressetarius *vij^d.*

Cerarius *iv^d.*

Carpentarius *xij^d.* q (= $\frac{1}{4}$)

Plumbarius *xii^d.*

Seruiens suus *vj^d.*

Garcio subsecriste	vij ⁴ .
Duo steyrarii	xij ⁴ .
Janitor ecclesie cum cane	vij ⁴ .
Janitor porte orientalis	ij ⁴ .
Custos bosci	vij ⁴ .
Carrectarius	vij ⁴ . ob.
Summa totalis	ix ⁴ . 1 ⁴ . ob. quart.
Mem. quod Carrectarius habebit preter hoc ad pascha usque ad festum S. Michaelis ad Nonchenches 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴ . Item duo Steyrarii per idem tempus qualibet septimana iii ⁴ .	
Summa	ix ⁴ . 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴ .

A list of *Oblaciones* follows: among recipients occur all or nearly all the above-named servants, and besides

Clauiger prioris.	Forestarius.
Garciones de coquina.	Marescallus.
Lathomus.	Braciatrix.
Vigilator.	Lotrix.
Magister faber si sit.	Sellarius.
Tapetarius si sit.	Aurifrixia.
Vinitor.	

XVII. The *Registrum Coquinariae*, probably written by Andrew Astone, as was the *Registrum Hostilariae* (Claudius A. xii) in about 1425, and now preserved in the Public Library at Douai (cod. 553), has on p. 1 these inscriptions:

This Boke belongeth to me Roberte Wode.
nunc Johannis Smithi Londinensis.

From the list of Benefactors I have extracted the following:

f. 7 b. Baldewinus Abbas (1065—1097) sepultus est in presbiterio in eadem ecclesia iuxta murum retro parum altare in choro.

Robertus (II. 1102—1112) sepultus est in Capella infirmarie ex parte aquilonali interius inter duas columpnas coram altari S. Benedicti.

Anselmus (1119—1148) capellam S. Sabe quondam patroni sui in Roma depingi fecit infra ecclesiam ex parte aquilonali. Capellam S. Andree fecit edificari...fecit parari artifusoria (=arte fusoria) magnas ualunas ecclesie S. Edmundi occidentales. Sepultus est in capella infirmarie exterius uersus occidentem ex parte aquilonali inter duas columpnas sub lapide marmoreo cum ymagine mitrata suprascripta (?sculpta).

Ording (1148—1156) sepultus est in capitulo primus iuxta gradus pulpitti ad pedes Sampsonis abbatis, sub marmore per Willelmum Excetre Abbatem tunc temporis (1414—1429) sic de nouo ordinatum A.D. 1424.

Sampson (1182—1211) sepultus est in Capitulo secundus ad pedes Ricardi Abbatis sub lapidibus marmoreis quadratis ut suprascriptum est de abbatte Ordingo.

Hugo (IL 1213—1229: de Northwold) dedit conuentui primam partem biblie preciosissimam: sepultus est apud Ely honorifice ad pedes S. Etheldreda.

Richardus primus (de Insula: 1229—1234) tabulam argenteam et deauratam pro magno altari incepit: sepultus est in capitulo ad pedes Henrici Abbatis.

Henricus (1234—1248) sepultus est in capitulo quartus in numero ad pedes Edmundi abbatis.

Edmundus (de Walpole: 1248—1256) sepultus est in Capitulo sub lapidibus marmoreis quadratis ad pedes Hugonis Abbatis uersus ostium Capituli in numero quintus.

Simon (de Luton: 1256—1279) destroyed the round Chapel of St Edmund: sepultus est in Capella beate Marie ad pedes Willelmi Abbatis.

Johannes primus (de Norwold: 1279—1301) chorum fecit fieri et depingi per manus cuiusdam monachi sui domini Johannis Wodecroft cuiusdam (? quondam) pictoris domini regia. He finished the Capella Carneli: Capellam S. Botulphi construxit. Sepultus est coram paruo altari in choro.

Johannes Gosford Prior (1380) made the maior campana in choro: nouum claustrum iuxta ecclesiam: paruum claustrum iuxta Capellam Infirarie. Sepultus est in Capella beate Virginis ex parte aquilonali sub lapide marmoreo supersculpto.

Uvius primus abbas (1020—1044) sepultus est in Capella Infirarie ex parte australi interius inter duas columpnas sub albo lapide coram altari S. Benedicti.

Leofstan secundus abbas (1044—1065), cuius ossa iacent in quodam scrineo posito inter summitatem duarum columpnarum ad pedes feretri S. Edmundi, cum ossibus Alwyni monachi et Oswen deuote feminine.

Albold (1114—1119), qui sepultus est in Capella Infirarie exterius ex parte australi inter duas columpnas eiusdem Capelle.

Hugo primus (1157—1180) sepultus est in Capitulo sub lapidibus marmoreis iuxta ostium Capituli in numero inter alios Abbates sextus et ultimus.

Thomas Rudham (13...) fecit diuersas fenestras in naui Ecclesiae; coadiutor extitit cum aliis confratribus pro candelabro in presbiterio super Abbatem Baldewynum una cum tumba alabastri predicti Baldewyni facienda. Sepultus est in angulo cimiterii monachorum iuxta Bradfeldehalle.

Thomas (de Tottington: 1301—1312) sepultus est in ecclesia ante introitum ostii uersus claustrum coram Imagine beate Marie Virginis.

Richardus secundus (de Draughton: 1312—1335) sepultus est in ecclesia coram Imagine beate Marie Virginis iuxta Thomam Abbatem.

Johannes II. (de Brinkley: 1361—1379) reliquit conuentui in libris per eum emptis valorem 150 librarum adminus. (His burial place is not given.)

Johannes Lauenthal sacrista (13...) fecit campanile nouum super chorum: duo tecta transuersa a uestiario scilicet ad ostium Rakety: soluit pro continuacione celature cum pictura in naui ecclesie ad similitudinem presbiterii £100: pro pictura furni super feretrum £12. 13s. 4d.: in fenestris noue forme fabrefactis cum vitro in uoltis circa S. Edmundum: pro factura noue maxime campane £133. 6s. 8d. [also two lesser bells, and a bell ad opus de le clok]: in opere complendo magnarum portarum £ ... : pro clausura siue parclos in capella beate Virginis £22. Sepultus est in cimiterio monachorum coram Imagine beate Marie Virginis.

Edmundus Bokenham gave a uestimentum blodeum cum boterflies de satyn.

Willelmus (I. de Bernham: 1335—1361) reliquit conuentui in libris per eum emptis ad ualorem 100 marcarum adminus. Corpus eius iacet in Capella beate Marie inter Abbatem Simonem et Abbatem Johannem Brynkele.

Prior Willelmus de Rokelond dedit Decretales cum apparatu optimo, Summam Innocencii, Corpus Juris in v. uoluminibus, Summam Azonis, sermones in duobus pulcris uoluminibus.

Prior Edmundus de Brondyssh dedit duas tabulas ad altare in choro cum pictura ostiorum et parietis precii 20 marcarum. Also unam fenestram in ecclesia cum vitro, costing £13. 6s. 8d.: and an Antiphoner worth £8.

Henricus Lacy, Comes Lincoln., dedit crucem auream ponderis 66s. 8d. in summitate feretri S. Edmundi: item aliam crucem auream cum lapidibus preciosis pendentem super dexteram partem feretri S. Edmundi: also an antrax or carbuncle, which is at the foot of the shrine.

Magister Johannes de Batesford, doctor in utroque iure et monachus, dedit Corpus Juris, Summam Azonis, Suffragium monachorum, Decreta optima cum apparatu, Rosarium in pulcherrimo uolumine, Summam Hostiensis et Speculum Judiciale in pulcherrimis uoluminibus, Decretales cum apparatu, Summam Innocencii cum aliis libris ad ualorem 100 marcarum.

Prior Reginaldus de Denham (13...) dedit Decretales pulcherrimas cum apparatu precii sex marcarum, et multos alias libros. [Also four bells 'in Clokario,' and a great bell which broke and was mended by John Lavenham, sacrist.]

Prior Petrus de Clopton gave a bell in the choir called Clopton, and many books on both Canon and Civil Law.

Stephanus medicus et monachus dedit tres libros magnos et pulcherrimos de medicina pro sanandis infirmis.

Warynus filius Geroldi, cuius corpus iacet in Capella domini Laurencii sub lapide marmoreo in habitu monachali.

XVIII. *Rituale* (Harl. 2977), cent. xiv.: a small 8vo. volume of 50 leaves, imperfect. It comprises the directory of services from Advent to 1 May. I have read through it and extracted the following topographical references, which I think will be found to include all that is important.

f. 3a. Festum S. andree.

Processio cum aqua benedicta, et procedat per hostium *Trayle* (mentioned also in Harl. 3977), non circa claustrum: R. *mox ut uocem*: usque in capellam S. Andree...intrando ecclesiam ad hostium australe reuertendo per aquam benedictam...[The door called *Trayle* was on the north-east of the cloister. S. Andrew's Chapel, we gather from the *Liber Albus*, etc. was N.E. of the Church, near the river. I suspect that the procession went round the apse and through the cemetery to the south transept door.]

Ebdomadariorum magne misse incenset magnum altare et fererum et altare in choro.

3b. Infra aduentum non tenentur iii lectiones de aliquo sancto nisi de S. Benedicto et de S. Walerico.

Non. Dec. Festum S. Sabe.

The convent 'procedat in cappis preuio sacerdos (*sic, l-te*) in cappa cum brachio S. Botul(phi)': a leaf is gone: the next relates to xv *Kal. Jan.*

O Sapientia. incipiet Prior, deinde Celerarius, postea Sacrista, deinde Camerarius, postea Pitancarius, post Infirmarius, post Eleemosinarius, postea Feretrarius, et ultimo Abbas. *Versus*:

Pri. bow¹ . sacrista . camerarius . ac pitan . infir.

Post elemos . custos Edmundi . tunc uenit Abbas.

ff. 8, 9. Christmas Day: the procession consists of

Aque benedicto baiulus sine cappa, et ii turbularia sine cappis: postea due crucis in cappis, duobus ceropherariis ex utraque parte, deinde fererum cum camisia S. Edmundi, et illud portetur a duobus secularibus capellaniis in cappis et in albis uestitis; deinde tres subdiaconi, quorum medius portet unum magnum textum, et alii duo duos alios textus minores: deinde subsecuntur tres diaconi, quorum medius stolam habeat et manipulum, et isti tres ferant reliquias consuetudinarias. Et nota quod ille qui leget euangelium habet portare pixidem cum aue in summitate; et ultimo unus sacerdos...maturus cum brachio: deinde totus conuentus...Et procedat hodie processio per claustrum cantando R *Confirmatum* et *Te laudant*, usque in criptam, et ibi fit stacio....Exeat conuentus et uadat in nauim ecclesie...ante magnam crucem fit stacio.

Then into the choir, to the choir altar and to the high altar.

The Gospel is read 'ad pulpitum.'

¹ bow. stands for Celerarius: perhaps=Botellarius.

[The great cross is no doubt that on the pulpitum or rood-screen.]

f. 13. Festum S. Thome Cantuar.

Nota quod si dominica fuerit in crastino S. Thome, tunc pulsacio pro Baldeuino differtur usque in crastinum Circumcisionis.

13 b. Si Circumcisio domini super sabbatum uenerit, tunc in crastino fiat pulsacio pro abbate Samson.

15. Nota quod quando *Placebo* pro Sampson abate celebratur in cappis, tunc eius sepulcrum in capitulo a seruitoribus est turificandum. *Versus*: Bald. cum thure cap[pl]am et Sampson postulat abbas.

16 b. Epiphania domini.

Processio per claustrum usque in criptam. In criptis fit stacio... deinde in nauim ecclesie: ante crucem non fit stacio.

22 b. ix. *Kal. Feb.* Translacio S. Jurmini.

24. Purification Day.

Processio cum...pixide et texto et brachio...Post terciam procedat Abbas in presbiterium ut candelas benedicat.

Processio per claustrum, et fit stacio ante hostium capituli: they sing there 'uersis uultibus ad aquilonem': then into the crypt, nave, and choir.

26. xv. *Kal. Mart.* Translacio S. Botulphi.

27. vii. *Kal. Mart.* S. Jurmini in duobus cappis.

28 b. Feria ivth in capite ieuinii (Ash Wednesday).

Post capitulum habeatur parliamentum in claustro: deinde ad vi. horam, sexta completa, eat conuentus in dormitorium, postea ad lauatorium, deinde in chorum: et iterum pulsentur due cille in choro ut omnes conueniant.

29 b. uadat conuentus in claustrum ad locum suum quilibet proprium: seniores exeant ad hostium inferius, et iuuenes ad hostium superius.

[These are most likely doors leading out of the choir.]

| Prid. *Kal. Mart.* S. Oswald, Ep. et Conf.

| V. *Kal. Mart.* S. Wynewaloc.

| Prid. Non. *Mart.* S. Keneburge Kene< a >wythe ac Tibbe.

32 sqq. Dominica in ramis palmarum.

Primo procedant presbiteri cum camisia S. Edmundi, deinde subdiaconus cum textu, postea diaconus cum pixide, postea monachus cum corpore Christi, uiri bone opinionis, cereis hinc inde: non exeant donec succendor eis innuerit. Quinque enim uexilla precedant conuentum, postremum uexillum S. Edmundi....Distribuat sacrista palmas conuentui ex parte abbatis, et subsacrista ex parte prioris: deinde ordinatur processio, et uadat circa claustrum, deinde per cimiterium, et ante processionem deferatur aqua benedicta, turribulum, et crux¹ (f. 33 a)—mores¹ iuxta hostium australe: deinde illi qui cantandi sunt *gloria laus* ascendant ad capellam S. Egidii (in the triforium of the S. Transept over S. John's

¹ I do not think a leaf can be lost here, but *mores* must be wrong, perhaps for *morentur*, or *secundum morem*.

Chapel): quo facto uadat processio in nauim ecclesie, cantore incipiente *Ingredienti* etc.

34. Maundy Thursday.

Post capitulum fiat parliamentum in claustro, et interim ministri prime misse nudis pedibus, albis induti, lauent omnia altaria preter magnum altare et altare S. Andree in <in> firmaria et altare prioris et altare S. Stephani ubi Eleemosinarius celebrat missam pauperibus.

The prior's altar was in the Chapel of SS. Stephen and Edmund.

34 b. Succentor...accipiat nouum ignem de berillo, uel de ferro et lapide, si sol non apparuerit.

Abbas uadat ad hostium australe ut admittat pupplice penitentes: he is accompanied by the Prior, Precentor, Sacrist, Chaplains and two Deacons...et preparetur ibi sedile super tapetum super quod sedeat abbas.

35. Fiat sermo populo coram magno altari.

The Almoner washes the altar in S. Stephen's Chapel.

35 b. At the High Mass: Post hec accipiat supprior turribulum de abbatе et cum priore incenset abbatem: deinde feretrum, et postea reliquias et feretrum S. Botulphi et S. Jurmini, et tumbam Baldewyni, et altare in choro et cantores in cappis...Prior et supprior ad Abbatem redeant.

The Abbot washes the high altar with wine.

36 a. At the washing of Feet.

Statim exeat de refectorio nouiciis precedentibus. Pars abbatis sit ab ecclesia, scilicet ab hostio ecclesie usque ad sedem tertii prioris: pars prioris a sede tertii prioris usque ad hostium camere abbatis uel subcelariori: seniores in medio.

The *pars abbatis* and *pars prioris* are the monks who sat on their respective sides of the choir, which in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches are called *Decani* and *Cantoris*. But I cannot explain the passage in the least. It is not clear to me where the monks go after leaving the refectory. Is it the Great Court, or, as I rather think, the Cloister?

40 b. Sabbatum Sanctum (Easter Eve).

At the blessing of the fonts: 'pergant omnes in capella S. Johannis baptiste': they return 'per medium chori' to the high altar.

This confirms my view that the Chapel of S. John Baptist was the Baptistry, and that it was at the west end of the Church, as usual.

43. Easter Day. The procession has the 'camisia S. Edmundi' and the arm of S. Botulph.

Procedat processio per claustrum, et per cimiterium et cantetur *Salve festa dies* usque in ecclesiam ante magnam crucem, et ibi fit stacio.

Si tempus pluuiosum sit, fiat processio per claustrum et per criptam... et sic in ecclesiam.

49 b. iii. *Kal. Maij.* Translacio S. Edmundi, in iiii cappis.

Processio circa claustrum et circa S. Edmundum, et exeuntes ad

hostium australē uadant in capellam S. Stephani...deinde per cimiterium cantando *Salve festa dies*: in capella S. Stephani incensent Prior et suprior altare, et illud in quo S. Edmundus circumcirca uehebatur (this is what the Heralds' College MS. calls the 'bera S. Edmundi,' a litter in which probably Egelwin carried the body about)...istis finitis uadat processio ut dictum est per cimiterium cantando...Sic ordinatur processio: primo aqua benedicta, deinde duo turibula, due cruxes, ceroferarii in tunicis ex utraque parte: deinde feretrum cum camisia; tres subdiaconi cum textis: tres diaconi cum reliquis: deinde uestiarius cum gladio S. Edmundi: et sic transseuntes per cimiterium uadant in ecclesiam ante magnam crucem et ibi sit stacio.

Si tempus sit pluuiosum, tunc fit processio per claustrum et per criptam et ibi fit stacio.

XIX. Verses and Inscriptions from various parts of the Abbey.

(a) From MSS. Bodley 240 (*Memorials*, ii. 362), following the story of some horse-stealers who were convicted and brought back to Bury.

Istud miraculum sculptum est in choro cum aliis miraculis iuxta sedem abbatis, cum his uersibus :

Hic rapiuntur equi de fundo martyris aequi :
Clament raptore, faciunt patiendo dolores :
Post ueniunt fientes, enses offerre uolentes :
Abbatem quaerunt, contriti corde fuerunt :
Hos absoluebat, humiles quos esse uidebat.

(b) From MSS. Arundel xxx at the College of Arms.

1. De Sancto Benedicto.

hic legit et disicit: uas hoc nutrix sibi scissit :
proicit hic panem quo scrobem replet inanem :
uita priuatum Benedicto fert homo natum :
panem felle litum coruo dat ut auferat illum¹.

Probably from a window. S. Benedict had an altar in the Infirmary Chapel. It is only by inference that we attribute these verses to Bury: some others on the same page are evidently taken thence.

The subjects are :

1. S. Benedict teaching. 2. He mends a sieve which his nurse had broken. 3. He throws away a loaf, his only food. 4. He raises a dead boy. 5. He gives a poisoned loaf to a crow, to carry off.

¹ MS. ut supra, fol. 1 a.

2. In quadam cortina.

12. Eadmundus Swanum perimit sic uulnere Danum.
 Eadmundi Swanum sic punit lancea Danum.
 Rex regem Danum sic punit morte Suanum.
 Infestus Danus punitur morte Suanus.
 Confossum Danus ruit en moriturque Suanus.
 Intentu duplii rex Sweyn consumitur Ici.

11. Morte Leofstanus moritur sic ubū (?uerbere uermibus or uulnere)
 sanus :
 Demone uexatur Leofstan et sic cruciatur.

10. Vt Rex mactatur, comitante lupo baiulatur.

9. "Heer" proclamat : corpus capiti sociatur.

8. Qui non putrescit, hic martyris uirgo quiescit.

7. In densis iacitur caput alnum nec sepelitur.

6. Hic decollatur martyr qui non superatur :
 Quod seculum loquitur, custode lupo reperitur.

5. Pro iactu teli fit conuictatio celi.

4. Fustibus est cesus Eadmundus et undique Iesus :
 Telis confoditur Eadmundus et euse feritur.

3. Turba ruit facta nece dum cadit ense subacta :
 Plebs expungnatur ; pars uincit, pars iugulatur.

2. Hic iubet ut Regem moneat contempnere legem :
 Suggerit hic Regi quedam contraria legi.

1. Saxonia uectus est regni culmen adeptus.

Here we have a life of S. Edmund, figured on a hanging, which may have been near the shrine. The verses have been copied in reverse order : the scenes run as follows :

1. Coronation of Edmund.
2. The embassy from Hinguar and Hubba, bidding him submit.
3. The battle : Edmund is defeated.
4. He is beaten with clubs and shot with arrows.
5. His soul is received into heaven.
6. He is beheaded : his head, cast into the bushes, is guarded by a wolf.
- 7, 8. The head and incorrupt body lying in the wood, apart.
9. The head calls "Here" : it is found, and joined to the body.
10. The wolf follows the searchers who are carrying the body.
11. Leofstan, a proud noble, insists on seeing the body, and goes mad, and is eaten of worms.
12. Edmund kills Sweyn (father of Canute). This scene is described in six lines, variations on one theme, which may indicate that it was a large composition.

On f. 4a of the MS. are about a hundred verses without any heading, beginning

Urbs, Adam, Solomon, Job languens, uirga prophete,
Rex Eszechias, et cum Simeone Tobias.
Ista docent hominum precibus superaddere Christum.
Quos uirtus collata leuat, temptacio pulsat.

There is no indication that these were inscribed on any work of art.

3. Memorandum de agno submerso.

de nautis de Coue liberatis a piratis.

de muliere muta cuius lingua etc.

— de pueru mortuo resuscitat cuius ymagō etc.¹

These may refer to miracles of St Edmund: the mention of Cove (North or South Cove or Covehithe in Suffolk) points to this. A dumb woman from Winchester is healed in Sampson's *Miracula S. Edmundi*, l. viii. I cannot at present find an explanation for the others.

4. De indulgenciis² concessis rotunde capelle S. Edmundi in cimiterio monachorum ex parte aquilonali presbiterii, in quo corpus S. Edmundi requieuit ante translacionem suam.

Omnibus contritis et confessis qui capellam beati Edmundi in cimiterio monachorum sitam, in qua preciosum corpus eiusdem martiris gloriosi primo requieuit in sua bera in qua dictus martyr quondam portabatur, que ibidem cum ueneracione collocatur, uisitauerint et pro animabus Gregorii Ricardi et Roberti priorum S. Edmundi quorum corpora in eodem cimiterio sunt humata et pro animabus omnium monachorum in eodem cimiterio requiescentium et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum deo preces effuderint, x. dies indulgencie conceduntur ab episcopo Braganensi a.d. 1261.

Also xxx days ab episcopo Roffensi a.d. 1270.

xx " " " Dunelmensi a.d. 1271.

xl " " ab archiepiscopo Medorum a.d. 1274.

In 1275 the round Chapel was pulled down, and the Chapel of the Virgin built by Abbot Simon. The Bera S. Edmundi (i.e. the bier or litter) and other relics were moved to the Chapel of S. Stephen, south of the Monks' Cemetery, which Chapel was then assigned to the Prior, in lieu of the round Chapel which had been the Prior's. In 1276 this Chapel was dedicated to SS. Stephen and Edmund 'ad instanciam Stephani de Ikwerthe' who was their Subprior, and four years afterwards became Prior. Hence it is plain where S. Edmund lay before his translation. "Sed non in carnario sicut quidam dicunt, quia nullum fuit in cimiterio carnarium illo tempore, nec postea per cc^{os} annos. Et nota quod cimite-

¹ MS. fol. 6 b.

² Ibid. fol. 8 b, in a hand of Cent. xv.

rium monachorum tunc temporis cingebat totum presbiterium in quo nunc iacet S. Edmundus, uidelicet ab ostio criptarum ex parte aquilonali in qua iam sita est capella S. Marie usque ad frontem capelle S. Nicholai et S. Johannis Euangeliste ex parte australi ubi nunc est capella S. Botulfi et ortus feretrariorum."

This note occurs also in a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (no. 251): see my *Bibl. Buriensis*, p. 57.

5. f. 9 a. *Opposito domine ad puerum* (cent. xiii., xiv.).

Domina. Que y demaundes tendre enfaunce?

Six questions and answers (twelve lines) in French: a dialogue between the Virgin and Child.

In quodam dorsario ex parte abbatis (cent. xiii., xiv.).

1. Lazarus ante fores caret +ingemit+ diues auarus.
2. Lazarus hic obiit, celos letusque petiuit.
Angelicis manibus desertur spiritus eius.
3. Ex opibus plenus moritur sic et fit egenus.
Diuiciis carus capessas capit escas diues auarus.
4. Pulsus in infernum fuit ut bibit ante phalernum (= Falernum).
5. In patriarcharum sinu locus est animarum,
Quas deus acceptat, quibus <et?> sua regna reuelat.
1. Prandunt conuiae natura simul atque Marie.
2. Hic fons hauritur qui post uinum reperitur.
Limpha fuit uinum, quod fertur ad Architrichinum.
3. Imperio Christi complent hic uasa ministri.
4. Miro patrato recedit abhinc dominator.
Cernite qua pena miseri cruciantur in igni
Qui non cesserunt carni seruire maligni.

The *dorsaria* I have taken to be painted cloths. This set of verses contains three main subjects.

I. Story of Dives and Lazarus.

1. Dives feasting: Lazarus outside..
2. Death of Lazarus: his soul taken to Heaven.
3. Death of Dives: he is taken to Hell.
4. Dives in Hell.
5. Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.

II. The Miracle of Cana.

1. The Feast.
2. The water drawn and tasted by the ruler of the feast.
3. The servants filling the vessels.
4. Christ leaving Cana.

III. An Inferno.

6. f. 10 a. Two verses without note of place.

1. On the Sacrifice of Isaac.
2. On Abraham and Melchizedek.

7. In fenestrarum Imaginis beate Marie apud S. Eadmundum.

1. Hic miser afflictu uano proprio perit ictu. *Death of Herod.*
2. Hic quo ditetur Sathanus seruire fatetur. *Theophilus sells his soul to the Devil.*
3. Impia facta pie pandit plangendo Marie. *He confesses to the Virgin.*
4. Cartam virgo dedit quo liber ab hoste recedit. *She returns him the Devil's bond.*
5. Grates adiutus exsoluit ab hoste solutus. *He thanks her.*
6. Hic in honore dei dant mistica dona Sabei. *Adoration of the Magi.*
7. Hec hunc maxilla sanat lactante mamilla. *The Virgin heals a sick clerk with her milk.*

8. f. 208 a.

In tabulis circa ymaginem beate Marie apud S. Eadmundum.

1. Hec hunc maxilla sanat lactante papilla. *De clero egrato.*
2. Two verses. *De Assumpcione beate Marie.*
3. One verse. *De Salutacione angelica.*
4. One verse. *De Salutacione Elisabeth.*
5. Four verses. *De magis.*
6. One verse. *De innocentibus.*
7. One verse. *De Purificacione.*
8. One verse. *De morte Herodis* (given above, under 7).
9. Five verses. *De Theophilo.*
10. Three verses. *De Judeo et eius filio.*

Here, in §§ 7, 8 we have a partial repetition of the same verses: we shall encounter this phenomenon again. It will be noted that *tabulae* and *fenestrae* seem to be used as synonyms. The subjects need little comment. The story of the Jew (§§ 8, 10) is that of the Jewish boy of Bourges or Pisa who received the Eucharist with his Christian playmates, and was thrown by his father into an oven, where the Virgin protected him. There is a representation of this miracle in the east window of the north aisle at Lincoln Cathedral.

9. f. 208 a.

ad reliquias.

1. Mente ruit tota plebs sancto soluere uota.
2. Nuncius hortatur iter ut celer aggrediatur.
3. Nuncius affatur regem, sed mox reprobatur.
4. Hic punit Danum rex martyr cuspide Swanum.
5. Mane redi tutus, nullo terrore solutus.

6. En moritur Swanus Eadmundo vindice Danus *uel* ecce ruit
Swanus, etc.

The subjects here seem to be :

1. The people coming to thank the Saint for their deliverance from Sweyn.
2. The monk Ailwin bidden to go to Sweyn.
3. Ailwin repulsed by Sweyn.
4. Death of Sweyn.
5. Edmund's words to Ailwin who had witnessed Sweyn's discomfiture.
6. Death of Sweyn : with an alternative verse.

10. f. 209 a.

In fenestris circa capellam S. Johannis Euangeliste ad ostium cripte.

1. Predicat arcanis aquilinus sermo Johannis. St John writing, with the eagle.

2. Call of John, Peter and Andrew.
3. John on Christ's breast at the Last Supper.
4. John banished.
5. He sees the Revelation.
6. He returns to Ephesus : the people rejoice.
7. He raises Drusiana.
8. Is tried by Domitian, and cast into boiling oil.
9. He restores the broken gems for Craton, and baptizes him.
10. He turns sticks into gold, and then back again into sticks.
11. He writes the gospel.
12. He destroys the temple of Diana.
13. He drinks poison, and is unhurt.
14. The criminals, who drank the poison and died, are raised up.
15. Christ taken down from the Cross.
16. Deficitur funus populi mirabile munus.
17. Sermo theologicus populi uide causa fit huius.
18. Quem deus inuitat, sua per coniuia ditat.
19. Perquirit ad uitam qui plebem corripit istam.
20. Hic celebrat missam qui pacem vult dare missam. ? St John's last mass.

21. John's grave is dug by his own orders.
22. He lies in the grave : the earth above it moves (ebullit).

Compare with this the scenes from S. John's life in the old Apocalypses, and the window illustrating S. John's legend in the south aisle of Chartres Cathedral. The subjects here numbered 15—19 are curious and obscure.

11. De S. Nicholao ibidem.

1. He is chosen by a voice from heaven.
2. He is consecrated Bishop (two lines).

3. He delivers condemned criminals.
4. Rex obit et uiuit : deus est et omnia uincit.
5. The Resurrection of Christ.

If nos. 15 and 16 in the S. John window refer to the Passion of Christ, nos. 4, 5 in the S. Nicholas window are not so surprising or irrelevant. It appears possible that the life of S. John may have occupied more than one small window, and that there may have been subjects from the Passion in the lower parts of these windows, independent of the lives of the two saints.

12. f. 209 a.

De S. Martino.

Hic sedet ac dormit, sed humando debita soluit.

For this and other verses on S. Martin, see below.

13. In capella nigre hostilarie.

1. Hec natum plangit, moritur rex, hunc (or hanc) dolor angit (edge of leaf torn).
2. Iustus opes spargit, uirtus sua sidera scandit.
3. Angelus incensum dat, fumat aromate tem<plum>.
4. Regem celorum laudant celi le..... (? legiones).
5. Pugnatur celis, uictoria (? fit Michaelis).

The first two subjects I cannot explain : nos. 3—5 are from the Apocalypse.

3. The angel takes incense from the altar.
4. The Hymn of praise in heaven.
5. The War in heaven.

14.

1. Martinus migrat cui tr.....
2. Ecce duo populi rixant pro cor.....
3. Angelicum, Seuerine, melos....
4. Turba prophana uetat ne.....
5. Arboreum lapsum mire....

These verses occur in a complete form later on.

15. f. 209 b.

Subscripti uersus continentur per loca in picturis et in uitreis in ecclesia S. Edmundi.

Ad altare beate Marie : in primo circulo.

Excoliata toga legis, noua fert synagoga
 Cumque stola fidei gracia splendet ei.
 Hactenus obscuris legis uelata figuris
 Adueniente fide rem synagoga uide.

The last two verses occur in a MS. at Eton College accompanying a picture of Christ unveiling the Synagogue. The MS. is of cent. xiii and contains an illustrated Apocalypse, prefixed to which are twelve pages of

paintings, which might be designs for painted windows: they are arranged in five medallions on a page, the central one being a New Testament subject, and the rest types or prophecies. I have described them fully for a forthcoming Catalogue of the MSS. at Eton.

In secundo (circulo).

Virgo ducem, fert uirga nucem, natura stupescit.

In Ihericho fructu deico crucis uua rubescit.

In the Eton MS. these verses accompany the picture of Aaron's rod: the words 'uirga nucem' are put first.

In tercio.

Pax and justitia meet.

The Visitation.

The picture occurs in the Eton MS.

In quarto.

Voce subornata fidei meritisque sacra

Sponsa coronatur sposoque deo sociatur.

In the Eton MS. these verses accompany the picture of Christ crowning the Church, as it seems. On the same page is the picture of Justice and Peace.

In quinto.

Astant celestes tibi, uirgo puerpera, testes.

Virginei partus capit immensum locus artus.

Not in Eton MS. ?The Nativity.

In sexto.

The Burning Bush.

In septimo.

The sign given to Ahaz.

In octauo.

Gideon's fleece.

Circa magestatem.

The Blessed on the right, the lost on the left (two lines).

In pariete de monacho submerso.

Three lines on the miracle of the wicked monk drowned, and raised by the Virgin.

Ibidem de filio Judei.

Three lines: see above for the story.

In tabula ante altare.

Four distichs on the four Evangelists (Mt. Mc. Jo. Lc.).

In eadam tabula circa magestatem.

Four verses nearly gone, the corner of the leaf being torn off.

16. At this point it seems to me likely that we leave the Lady Chapel and go to the high altar.

Ad magnam crucem in tabula super altare in primo circulo.

Four verses, gone.

In secundo.

Two verses gone.

f. 210 a. In secundo (? tercio).

Datque legens ligna super his muliercula signa. *Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath.*

De cruce sublatum Ionas presignat humatum. *Jonah swallowed by the fish.*

In tercio (l. quarto). *Jonah vomited up.*

The Lion raising its whelp (2 lines).

Armatos ruere facit angelus atque timere.

Quo spem leticie tres concepere Marie. *The Angel at the tomb.*

In tabula ante altare.

Sub Petri cura stant ecclesie rata iura. *The Church with St Peter, and the Synagogue with Moses* (?).

Corruit obscura synagoga uetusque figura.

This probably completes the description of the high altar.

17. In testudine in primo circulo.

Simon Magus opposes Peter and Paul.

Nero supports him, } and condemns them. } three lines.

In secundo.

Simon flies in the air, } and falls. } three lines.

In tercio.

St Paul is beheaded : three lines.

In quarto.

St Peter is crucified : three lines.

These are frescoed medallions on the vaulting of the apse, according to my ideas.

18. In fenestra ibidem.

Christ buffeted before Caiaphas.

Christ before Pilate.

Peter's denial : the cock crows.

} three lines.

19. In uitreis ad altare S. Nicholai et per nauem ecclesie a parte australi.

1. Angel and Zacharias.

2. Elizabeth and John (the Birth of John Baptist).

3. His name is called John.

4. John Baptist in the desert.
5. John baptizing or preaching.
6. Exuit hic tunicam ; qui non habet accipit illam. His preaching.
7. Ecce agnus dei.
8. Baptism of Christ.
9. Others baptized.
10. John rebukes Herod.
11. He sends two disciples to Christ.
12. Herod's feast. Salome dancing.
13. John beheaded.
14. Hec monet, ista rogat, quod rex fieri male mandat. *Salome, Herodias and Herod.*
15. Hec capud huic confert quod virgo matri quoque profert. *Head brought to Herodias.*
16. Infodiunt iste sanctum capud indecorose. *Salome and Herodias pierce the eyes and tongue of John.*
17. Exequias sancto celebrant hii decapitato. *The disciples bury the body.*
18. Quid petis hoc a me, Ihesu, quod pertinet ad te. *John's words to Christ.*
19. Quod sine, Iohannes, nam sic ut fiat oportet. *Christ to John.*
20. Idcirco munda mundum baptizat in unda. *Christ baptized.*

Nos. 1—20 are probably one large window, devoted to St John Baptist's life.

21. Virgo Maria deum genuit gavisura per euum. *Nativity.*

f. 210 b.

22. Herod asks the Magi when the star appeared.
23. The Kings go to Bethlehem.
24. They open their treasures and offer.
25. They adore Christ.
26. The Angel warns them to return another way.
27. Herod orders the Massacre.
28. Joseph warned to flee.
29. Flight into Egypt.
30. Presentation in the Temple.
31. The First Temptation.
32. The Second : Hostis temptauit, Ihesus scriptis superauit.
33. The Third (on the mountain).
34. The Marriage at Cana (half a line only: Deficiente mero).
35. The Virgin's words to the servants: Verba mei nati sectarier este parati.
36. The water turned to wine.
37. The Architrichinus (ruler of the feast) is surprised.
38. Healing of the leper (Matt. viii).

39. Iste precatur erum dare natum uiribus egrum. *The Nobleman at Capernaum* (John iv).

40. The sea stilled.

41. The Paralytic carries his bed.

42. Ecce fatigatur cui uis bona nulla negatur. *Christ resting at the well.*

43. The Woman of Samaria surprised.

44. Rex negat esse cibos (half a line: "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me").

45. The Samaritans believe.

46. Lazarus is ill: his sisters weep.

47. They tell Jesus.

48. Martha tells Jesus that Lazarus is dead.

49. She calls Mary.

50. Mary falls at His feet.

51. Lazarus is raised.

52. He is loosed from the grave-clothes.

53. Lazarus exire iubetur et hic aperire.

54. Ihesu narratur quod Lazarus eger habetur.

55. Lazarus oppetit, pro quo uicinia fleuit.

56. Omnes credebant qui mortua uiua uidebant.

vv. 53—56, like nos. 18—20 above, seem otiose. The fact probably is that in the case of nos. 18—20 we are dealing with the central subject of the window, and that this had longer inscriptions than the rest: while in the case of nos. 53—56, the order of the medallions, which is often difficult to perceive in xiith century windows, has been unintelligently followed.

57. Autor opis uere, nostri, Ihesu, miserere. *A paraphrase of the word 'Hosanna', indicating the entry into Jerusalem.*

From this point, again, the order is confused.

58. Judas casts down the money in the Temple.

59. Pilate delivers Christ to be crucified.

60. Judas and the Pharisees.

61. Judas receives the money.

62. The washing of the Disciples' feet.

63. The Betrayal.

64. The soldiers fall backward: Malchus is healed.

65. Jesus brought before Pilate.

f. 211 a.

66. The Cross is raised: the gall given.

67. Christ bearing the Cross: Simon of Cyrene.

This series of New Testament subjects is a very noticeable one: the prominence given to the Ministry of our Lord is characteristic of the art

of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as distinguished from that of the fourteenth and fifteenth. It is curious that the Transfiguration does not appear.

20. In panno ante crucem in choro.

Vincla, flagella, crucem, conuicia, uulnera, mortem,
Et tumulum passus, regit astra, polum, mare, Christus.
Magestate mea stat rerum machina tria
Quo mare, terra, polus subsistunt dirigo solus.

This seems appropriate to a picture of Christ in glory, the universe below His feet, and surrounded by angels with the instruments of the Passion.

21. In trabe ultra paruum altare.

1. The Entry into Jerusalem.
2. The Last Supper.
3. The washing of feet.
4. The Scourging.
5. Christ bearing the Cross.
6. The Crucifixion.
7. The Deposition.
8. *Piæta*: the Virgin lamenting.
9. The Burial.
10. The Resurrection.
11. The Harrowing of Hell.
12. *Noli me tangere*.
13. The Incredulity of Thomas.

There are scenes painted probably on a rood-beam, East of the choir-altar.

22. In sede Abbatis.

Sessor puluilli, ne puluis adhæreat illi
Culpe: penarum cruciatum penset amarum:
Non sint elati sublimi sede locati:
Fastus sublimis flammis stridebit in imis.

If any subject were appropriate to these verses, it might be a Wheel of Fortune (such as we see in Rochester Cathedral), or an Inferno.

23. In tabula ante magnum candelabrum.

- [1. (? gone). *Wicked Lawyers*.]
2. Fusilis obscenas replet has tonsura crumenas. *Wicked Monks*.
3. Ampla sub usura parit his lucre noxia cura. *Usurers*.
4. Escas poscenti pius erogat esurienti.
5. Hic egrum reficit: hic clausum carcere uisit.
6. The stranger taken in.
7. The naked clothed.

} *The Works*
of *Mercy*.

8. An Angel calls the righteous to rise.
 9. The Apostles or Elders round Christ.
 10. Christ addresses the good.
 11. The lost rise.
 12. An Angel drives them away.
 13. They enter Hell.
 14. *Hic est pranorum cruciatus causidicorum. Wicked lawyers punished.*
 15. *Fenora tonsure flagra talia sunt periture. Wicked Monks punished.*
 16. *Sic sunt dampnati nummis nunquam saciati. Usurers or covetous punished.*

A large picture perhaps arranged in compartments thus:

Wicked Lawyers.	Wicked Monks.	Usurers.
Feeding hungry.		Stranger taken in.
Clothing naked.	LAST JUDGMENT.	Visiting sick and prisoners.
Punishment of Lawyers.	of Monks.	of Usurers.

Among the fifteenth century frescoes in English Churches we have compositions shewing Christ as Judge in the centre, surrounded by pictures of the Works of Mercy, e.g. at Barnby in Suffolk, and Kingston in Cambs. (N. aisle, West wall).

24. In magno candelabro.

Virgo uiro, uir de limo fit plasmate miro. *Creation of Adam and Eve.*

Quod premit hos luctus fecit gustacio fructus. *Fall.*

f. 211 b.

25. In uitreis ad antiquam capellam beate uirginis.

1. Angelicum, Seuerine, melos aures tibi mulcet.
2. Arboreum lapsum mire, Martine, reflectis.
3. Pendit ob errorem penas plebs obruta pinum (? pinu).
4. Turba prophana uetat ne pinus sacra secetur.
5. Astra petit tutus Martinus carne solutus.
6. Martinus migrat cui † crux inuictus et † adstat.
7. Ecce duo populi rixant pro corpore sancti.
8. Hic sedet ac dormit, sed humando debita soluit.

This is the final and complete form of the verses of which fragments are given under 12 and 14. They are from a window representing the life of S. Martin of Tours, and the subjects are as follows :

1. S. Severinus of Cologne hears singing at the moment of S. Martin's death.
2. The order historically should be, 4, 2, 3: (4) the pagan rustics protest against the destruction of a sacred pine: (2) Martin makes it fall away from him, instead of towards him: (3) it falls on the rustics and injures some of them.
- 3.
- 4.
5. Martin's soul received into heaven: it is attacked by demons unsuccessfully.
6. His death: the Devil at his bedside. We should certainly read *trux inimicus* for *crux invictus*.
7. The inhabitants of Tours and Poitiers quarrelling for the body of S. Martin.
8. S. Ambrose at Milan falls asleep during Mass, and in spirit assists to bury S. Martin.

The situation of the window is, however, a puzzle. I do not understand what relation it bears to the old chapel of the Virgin: for this must, I think, be taken to be the central eastern apse of the Church. At Ely there was an altar of S. Martin in the south aisle of the choir. I am rather inclined to place the window in the apse between the eastern and south-eastern Chapels.

26. In uitreis ad lauatorium.
1. The Sun. *Pellens theta soli, sed uero seruio soli.*
2. The Moon.
3. The Twelve Months.
4. The Stars.
5. Day (?). *Rutila lux celi super id (= it) Sol colla diei.*
6. October. Threshing.
7. September. Vintage.
8. November. Killing pigs.
9. December. Feasting.
10. Five lines on the variety of occupations in the months.
11. May. Carrying a hawk.
12. June. Mowing.
13. August. Reaping.

27. In campana que dicitur Hugonis
Martiris Eadmundi iussum decus hic ita fundi
Anselmi donis donum manus aptat Hugonis.

We know that the artist Magister Hugo was a worker in metal, and the mention of Anselm seems to fix this bell as being another of his works.

28. In magna campana.

Ecclesie splendor Gaufridus nomine dico.
 Me dedit ille bono tibi, rex Eadmunde, patrono.
 Sum labor Hailfici : modulo mihi *ter* (or *tunc*) reparato
 Erea nunc exto decus ecclesie uenerandum.

In l. 3 the MS has *t*, and I should like to read *tunc* rather than *ter*.
 This is the bell made by Gaufridus the sacrist (1102—1107).

29. In choro et circa.

1. Creation of Adam. Ne regnet fastus de limo fit prothoplastus.
2. Creation of Eve.
3. The Blessing of Man.
4. The Fall.
5. The Expulsion.
6. Adam digs : Eve spins.
7. Cain's sacrifice.
8. He kills Abel.
9. God rebukes him : Abel's blood cries out.
10. Cain flees.
11. He is killed by Lamech.
12. The Flood.
13. Noah enters the ark.
14. The ark on the waters.
15. Noah's sacrifice: the Rainbow.
16. The Vintage : the shame of Noah.
17. He curses "Cham."
18. The Tower of Babel.
19. The Confusion of Tongues.
20. Abraham and Lot part.
21. Lot leaves him after the dispute.
22. The king of the Elamites in his wrath.
23. The Battle of the Kings.
24. The king of Sodom armed.
25. Lot captured : a "puer" tells Abraham.
26. Abraham rescues Lot.
27. Meets Melchizedek.
28. Abraham counts the stars: he takes Hagar to wife.
29. The Vision of the three Angels.
30. Sarah laughs.
31. Lot receives the two Angels.
32. The men of Sodom attack his house.
33. The cities of the plain destroyed.
34. Lot's wife perishes.
35. Lot and his daughters.

36. Sarah gives suck to Isaac : Abraham's joy.
37. He is told to offer up Isaac.
38. The sacrifice of Isaac.
39. Eliezer's oath to Abraham.
40. The bracelet given to Rebekah.
41. She lights down from her camel.
42. The Birth of Jacob and Esau.
43. Esau sells his birthright.
44. Isaac desires the venison : Esau goes hunting.
45. Jacob kills the kids.
46. And covers his neck with the skins.
47. Esau delays to return.
48. Esau arrives. Jacob flees.
49. Jacob's vision.
50. Jacob meets Rachel.
51. Rachel is promised to him.
52. Leah is given to him.
53. Rachel is given to him.
54. The rods in the troughs.
55. Jacob leaves Laban.
56. Rachel hides the idols.
57. Jacob and Laban make a covenant.
58. Jacob wrestles with the Angel.
59. Jacob's flocks are left behind.
60. Jacob's children and wives.
61. Jacob meets Esau.
62. Dinah is carried off.
63. She is recovered.
64. The Massacre of the Shechemites.
65. Joseph reports Reuben's sin.
66. Joseph tells his dream.
67. The brethren see him coming.
68. They put him in the pit.
69. He is sold.
70. The Bloody coat shewn to Jacob.
71. Potiphar buys Joseph.
72. The arrival in Egypt.
73. Potiphar's wife tempts Joseph, and accuses him.
74. He is imprisoned "fune ligatus."
75. The dreams of the Butler and Baker.
76. Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dreams.
77. He is exalted.
78. The Egyptians adore him.
79. He collects corn.
80. The brethren sent by Jacob.

81. They return: Simeon is detained.
82. Benjamin is brought to Joseph.
83. They offer gifts to Joseph.
84. The cup in Benjamin's sack.
85. The Recognition.
86. Quod Iosep celat, regi puer iste reuelat.
87. Non est delusa pro patre peticio fusa. (The land of Goshen given to Jacob.)
88. Jacob arrives in Egypt.
89. And salutes Pharaoh.
90. The Blessing of Manasseh and Ephraim.

A few moral lines, apparently not of this series, follow.

I hope on a future occasion to compare this fine and interesting series of Genesis-subjects with some of the more important monuments of the kind which have survived. In spite of the fact that Jocelin tells us that Abbot Sampson composed "elegiac verses" for the paintings about the choir, I am inclined to believe that in the leonine hexameters of the MS. before us we have the work of Abbot Sampson. The painting of the choir by Wodecroft took place in the fourteenth century, too late to have been recorded in the Heralds' College MS. which can, I think, hardly have been written after 1300.

30. f. 212 b, col. 2.

In dorsario ultra ostium reliquiarum.

1. The Annunciation. Angelus infit aue: grauidatur virgo suave.
2. The Visitation.
3. The Nativity.
4. The Angel and the Shepherds.
5. Christ in the Manger.
6. The Star.
7. The Adoration of the Magi.
8. The Return of the Magi.
9. The Massacre of the Innocents.
10. Joseph warned to flee.
11. The Flight into Egypt.
12. The Massacre of the Innocents. (?)
13. The Ascension. (?)
14. The Last Supper. Ut deus est presens, ut homo cognoscitur absens.
15. The Last Judgment (two lines).
31. In dorsario illi proximo.
 1. The Birth of Isaac.
 2. The Sacrifice of Isaac.

Compare the isolated verses noted before under No. 6.

32. In dorsario Ezechiellis.

Magestate deus uos omnes iudico uerus,
Premia pro iustis hoc iudicio capietis.

33. f. 214 a: hand of cent. xiii, xiv.

Longitudo aule Westmonasterii est cclxx. ped., latitudo lxxiiij.

Longitudo aule Archiepiscopi Eboracensis apud Eboracum viii ii.
(122), latitudo lxxvi.

Longitudo aule de castello apud Nouum Castellum vix v. (105),
latitudo xlviij.

Latitudo claustrum Dunelm. viii xviii. (138) } preter bancum.

Inter columpnas et murum xiiii.

Latitudo aule hospitum ibid. ix. ped.

Longitudo iiiii viii (88).

Latitudo claustrum S. Eadmundi viii v. (145) } preter bancos.

Inter columpnas et murum xiiii.

XX. Bodl. MS. 240, p. 677, col. 1, line 24. This transcript
was kindly procured for me by the Rev. A. C. Headlam,
Fellow of All Souls' College.

Cum enim propter tempestatem inauditam speciosum et valde spectabile
beati Eadmundi caderet campanile et in cadendo pluribus mortem intentaret
ita quod nullus tum propter ruinam illius imminentem tum propter alia per
illud seu per tempestatem horrendam ruine patencia tutum sibi locum
putaret, patronus noster et pater sanctus Edmundus omnes protexit cum
tamen dicto et auditu consideratis circumstantiis hoc magnum erat
miraculum. Namque non solum in ipsa ecclesia scilicet presbiterio, choro
et capella beate Marie, ubi maximum imminebat periculum, seu etiam in
ipso campanili parum ante casum eius hominum multitudo affuerat, set
in diuersis cameris, studiis et aliis locis ubi post paruissimum interuallum
ipsa ruina contingebat, fratres omnes hic inde consistentes manifesta dei
virtute et sancti Eadmundi prece ab omni mortis periculo saluantur, neque
famulus aliquis vel catulus ullam sensit lesionem qua mortem vel mutila-
tionis discrimen incurrit: postes tamen campanilis hinc inde cadebant et
ante et post monachos a dextris et a sinistris circumcirca ruebant, nullus
tamen eorum ledebatur. Campanile igitur horrido motu et impetu corruens
versus sanctum Eadmundum, cum per omnem rationem et venti indicium
eius attemptaret feretrum, dei virtute reuersum est ad aquilonem, ubi nec
omnino noceret hominibus, et loca sanctiora et digniora, scilicet altaria
singula intacta relinquenter; benedictus deus per omnia.

This record is not dated. It is puzzling in many ways. Was it the
bell-tower itself that fell, or a steeple which surmounted it? I think it was
the tower. Again, is it the fall of 1210 that is here described, or a later
one? One chronicler says that in 1210 the tower fell 'sine aliquo impulsu

venti' (see p. 159): but here there is constant mention of the violence of the wind. I confess I am at a loss here. As to the date, I think that can be more easily determined. One thing at least is plain: it is the central tower whose fall is here related: for it is especially said that the parts of the Church which were endangered were the presbytery, shrine, and Lady Chapel: the mention of the Lady Chapel may perhaps settle the point. The Central Tower was likely to fall on to the Presbytery: it threatened, in other words, to fall eastwards. Which Lady Chapel, then, would be endangered? Clearly, the old one at the east end (which was part of the Norman Church), and not the one on the north side (which was built in 1275). Further, when it did fall, it fell northwards and did comparatively little damage. But if Simon de Luton's Lady Chapel had then been in existence, it would have suffered terribly. Hence, I conclude that the fall here described is one that happened before that Chapel was built: in other words, that it is the fall of 1210.

I believe that the Central Tower remained in ruins for more than a century after its fall, and that finally, as we learn from Leland's notes, John Lavenham, sacrist in the fourteenth century, rebuilt it and added a tall spire.

XXI. Extracts from the *Registrum Hostilariae* (B. M. Cotton, *Claudius*, A. xii.): cent. xv. compiled by Andrew Astone in 1426.

1. In the *Electio domini Johannis Tymworth* (1379), written by John Gosford, the following facts occur (f. 126 b).

Abbot John de Brinkele was buried 'in capella beate Marie Virginis.'

On p. 129 we read that certain monks returning from the Infirmary Chapel, where they had said Matins, to the Dormitory 'repererunt ostium uocatum Trayledore per suos emulos interclusum ita quod nec intrare poterant in dormitorium nec in claustrum.' This door called 'Trayle' is alluded to also in Harl. 2977 (see pp. 366, 371). Evidently it led eastwards out of the cloister.

2. A very important document has now to be put upon record; I cannot find that it has been noticed by any previous historian of the Abbey. It was quite by chance that my attention was drawn to it. There is a transcript of it among the collections of Augustine Baker at Jesus College, Oxford (MS. 75); and from the connexion in which it there occurs, I was led to suspect that its source was the *Registrum Hostilariae*. There, in point of fact, it was: but separated from the other

matters relating to the Abbey, by the insertion of a copy of the legendary *History of the Three Kings*, in Latin.

It is a record of a most disastrous fire which took place in the Abbey Church in 1465 (during the abbacy of John Bohun or Boone): and it greatly modifies one's views of the interior condition of the Abbey Church at the time of the Dissolution. I append the text, and reserve further comment.

On the lower margin of f. 189b (old numbering 116b).

Heu, heu, quid scribam, quid tanta incendia dicam
 Quanta prius nusquam reor aure recepta? Ruente
 Summa ab arce domu, deiectaque sacra prophani
 Ignibus exustas flamma populante columpnas,
 Martir ubi Edmundus multo veneratur honore.
 Vidisse est miserum, miserumque magisque dolendum
 Visa referre: tamen, lateat ne tanta ruina
 Ventoram gentem, discatque ignara vitare
 Fortunam similem, jam cuncta ex ordine pandam.

[f. 190] Millesimo cccc^{mo} sexagesimo quinto dominice incarnacionis anno apud Buryam S. Edmundi facta est miserabilis combustio monasterii eiusdem sancti ibidem xiii kal. Februarias ex quorundam negligencia plumbo et igne reparancium, immo verius destruencium. Orta est autem in hunc modum. Sole diem radiis illustrante, nulla intemperies, tonitus nullus, nulla tempestatis aura fuere; sed omnes ceciderunt murmuris aure. Tantummodo lenis austri fatus (heu nimium posteа vehemens) spirabat in orbem. Preparatis igitur que ad opus plumbariorum deseruiren, igne scilicet et ferro, ecclesiam scandunt, ea parte patellam igneam statuentes quam ventus obuius leni verberabat impulsu. Instant interea ardentes operi usque dum prandii tempus ipsos senocaret. Mox yma petentes ignem tectum inter et ventum haud caute positum reliquerunt. Nutrita interim vento comburens flamma, jamque ipsum plumbeum penetrans, tectum intrat, infra celaturam delitescens quoisque in uniuersum adoleret. Nec mirum, *Quoque magis legitur*, vt ait poeta, *tectus magis estuat ignis*. Demum accensa celatura flamme protinus irruperunt immense: quo viso sonat ilico campanarum vox dissona, concurrunt vndeque plebs in adiutorium prona; sed jam tantas sibi vires triste illud collegerat incendium, quantas nemo virorum ausus fuerit expugnare, tum propter loci sublime cacumen, tum propter intollerabile feruentis plumbi stillicidium. Erat enim dies media, et jam pene usque campanile tota ab occasu rubeant ecclesie tegmina. Perterriti ergo exeunt, deum sanctumque Edmundum flexis genibus omnes orant. Distrahuntur interea quedam diuini officii utensilia atque in tutum reponuntur: quedam nunquam redditura asportauit in iustorum manus impia: quedam, et ipsa preciosissima, improuisis ardoribus

vita. Fit ingens clamor, creber concursus euncium redeunciumque: vbique luctus, vbique panor. Et non solum ecclesie ornamenta diripiuntur, verum eciam aliarum domuum seu camerarum quaruncumque intima perscrutantur, quia tunc omnia lapsum spoponderant, quicquid in hiis inueniri poterat auffertur, quidam bono zelo hoc agentes, ne subiectis vreret flammis, quidam e conuerso maligna mente [here a disquisition of five or six lines upon false friends, illustrated by a quotation from Seneca] ... Deiecta miserabiliter ecclesie parte occidua, arbitrabantur quamplurimi saltem in campanili flamas subsistere. Sed nec ibi furore deposito, per quedam foramina hinc inde templum irrumptentes, collaterales eius plagas ineuitabili succendunt furore. Insuper ipsum presbiterium, vbi corpus dominicum sacrique martiris Edmundi feretrum cultissimo apparatu constructum denotas fidelium mentes sepius verterunt in laudem, terribilis ignis vis inuasit: sublatum tamen ante per sacristam atque in vestiario honorifice ardenti cera collocatum fuerat nostre redempcionis sacramentum; timuit enim temptare dominum deum suum. Quid de flammis vltra dicam? Tota dei domus tetenderat in ruinam, perque yma et alta ruentes tocius fabrice decus, summam pinnaculi lucernam corripuit (*sic*); quod maximum mortalibus timorem pariter et dolorem incusit. Nam omnis spes omnium et fiducia recessit, cum illa formosissima flammis exureret hasta. Et jam validi toto sonuerunt ethere venti, fauillas hand breui spacio eleuantes non modicas: quodque magis mirum, vidimus quamplures plumbi porciunculas flamme et flatus violencia procul delatas. Tunc magis multiplicantur gemitus, dolores augentur, suspiria ab ymo pectore trahuntur. Sed et monachi quo se vertant ve(l) quid faciant ignorant, quorum lamentabilis querimonia non immerito posset fuisse cum Virgilio de Troia *Venit summa* [f. 191] *dies et ineluctabile tempus nostrum: suimus* monachi, *suit gloria et ingens decus Estanglorum, ferus omnia corripit ignis et accensa sacra dominatur in ede.* Erat preterea de magni pinnaculi combustione non tantus dolor et gemitus, quantus de eius lapu et precipitacione timor habebatur ab omnibus. Minabatur enim non solum ecclesie subuencionem, sed et toti monasterio ultimatum exitum. Elongant ergo se omnes, quidam procul aspicientes, quidam tam miserabilem casum videre pre dolore minime ferentes. Sed diuine pietatis superhabundancia, que semper suis subuenit, non est passa tale ac tantum sui militis edificium totale perditum ire. Nam, combustis qui sublimem uerticem sustinebant postibus, perpendiculariter, neque ad dextram neque ad sinistram declinans, in subiectum campanile mirabiliter decidit. O quantus illic caminus, quantus fumus, quantus crederes estus erat, vbi chorus ille curiosissimus, in toto regno similem non relinquens, vbi formosissimum templi cacumen, vbi campanarum ter tripla turba, multaque arte et ingenio elaboratum candelabrum vno cremantur aceruo! Quid vltra? Distendit immanissimus ille rogus omnes flamas suas et violenciam in martiris feretrum, et circumcirca volitans armaria et sedes, celicolarum formas extantes, pendulam quoque crucifixi magnitudinem sancto iuartiri pene

contiguam in lucidissimos carbones redegit. Ipsum eciam feretri copertorum ligneum, combusto funis retinaculo, desuper vrens cadebat. Sic quod martir, incendiis vndique veluti in clibano vallatus, tantarum in medio flammarum permansit illesus. O inestimabile dei donum! O admirabile factum, omnique pretermittendum (*sic*) miraculum, quoniam milia milium flamme solum defecerunt in martirem. Ruunt interea ad sancti martiris basilicam viri audaces fractis fenestris, humida in flamas iacentes, conspectoque indempni feretro letas foris voces emittunt: quare deo et sancto martiri supplices omnes grates pendunt. Est et aliud stupendum et relatu dignum, de martiris quondam seruo atque auriga Egelwyno et aliis, quorum ossa in linea capsula in sublimi prope regis tumbam; quam nonnulli, eo quod jam feruor ipsam incendebat, multo robore deponere nitebantur, sed mouere nequibant quod jam vnicula manu facile leuaretur. Ecce quam fidelis seruus ille, qui regem suum nolebat deserere. Neque sic a martire superata cessavit protinus miserabilis illa quassacio; sed iam collectis viribus totum in beate Virginis capellam spirauit ardorem. Combustum enim antea fuerat Refectorium, et palacii culmen Vulcanus habebat. Ibi tamen multa potestate extinctus solam capellam infestabat. Nec prius absistit quam ipsam, licet vino et aqua copiose respersam, seuissimis flammis humi prostrauit, vterius in Infirmary, que tota periculis incumbebat, lesionem deo protegente non faciens. Tota deinde hominum cura, dolor omnis, omnis metus pro Vestiario subeunt, vbi corpus domini collocatum prediximus, vbiique totus tunc ecclesie thesaurus iacebat inclusus. At non modicus ibi rutulauerat (*or* ustulauerat?) ignis; qui quantus fuerit testes existunt adhuc parietes vesti, lignorumque et lapidum duricies ignibus exhausta: et ipsum in choro vestiarii hostium non remansit intactum, salvo tamen diuina ope quicquid intro fuerat. Dominus enim omnium tanquam bonus Vestiarus officium suum fideliter adimpleuit, cum in pace custodiuat omnia que possiderat (*sic*). Magnas igitur merito gratias deo debemus et dicimus, qui se et militem suum Edmundum de tot liberare dignetur incendiis, et nos pene orphanos de tanti patroni solacio iam reddit secures, ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis, cui est honor in euum. Amen.

Tu ne luctisonas mortalibus exprime voces
 Inculto sermone tuas rude carmine. Amara
 Fata refer casusque nouas et flebile factum.
 Supplicibus pulsa precibus pia corda ferentes,
 Auxiliumque roga rebus fero rebus liquatis.

Perhaps the best way of bringing out the points of interest in the record will be to give an almost complete translation, with a running comment. In the verses that begin the text the writer says that the fire was unprecedented, and dreadful

to witness, and more dreadful and dismal to tell about; but that, notwithstanding this, he will narrate the matter for the instruction and warning of posterity.

"In the 1465th year of the Lord's Incarnation there took place at Bury St Edmund's a dismal conflagration of the monastery of that saint on the 13th of the Kalends of February (20 January), through the negligence of some men who were repairing—or, to speak more truly, destroying—the Church with lead and fire. Now it arose in this way. The sun was shining, there was neither foul weather, thunder, nor high wind; all whisper of a breeze had fallen, and there was but a light air from the south, which grew strong enough, alas! afterwards. The men got ready what was necessary for their plumbing work, the fire and irons, and went up the tower. [Clearly this was the western tower, which had fallen in 1430—31, and was now being rebuilt.] They placed their brazier in a spot exposed to the gentle draught of wind. They then set to, and worked until the dinner-hour called them away: whereupon they went down, and left the brazier very unwisely placed, between the roof and the wind. The fire was fanned by the breeze, melted the lead and penetrated into the roof, remaining unsuspected within the wooden ceiling until the whole was in flames. [Here follows a quotation from the poets.] At last the ceiling caught, and instantly great tongues of flames shot forth into the Church. As soon as they were seen, the bells clashed out in harsh discord, and the people rushed in from all quarters, eager to help. But by this time the fire had gained such power that no one dared cope with it, partly because of the great height above the floor, and partly because of the dropping of molten lead, which it was impossible to face.

It was now midday, and the whole roof of the Church, from the west end almost up to the bell-tower (central tower) was falling in. The crowd left the Church in a panic, and prayed on their bended knees to God and St Edmund. Meanwhile some of the utensils of divine service were torn down and carried off to a place of safety: some of them were removed by unprincipled persons, never to return; and others, of the most

precious kind, perished in the sudden conflagration. There was a great cry made, and great was the noise of men going and coming; sorrow and fear were on every face. Not only, moreover, were the ornaments of the Church plundered, but in other buildings and chambers every secret recess was explored, and all that could be found was removed: for destruction threatened the whole establishment. Some did this work with good intent, to save the articles from the fire, but others of malice afore-thought....

The western portion of the Church was now a dismal ruin; but many thought that the flames would at any rate stop at the central tower. Yet their fury did not slacken; they made their way through openings on this side and on that, broke into the Church, and consumed the lateral parts of it [the transepts, probably] with irresistible force. Yea, and the presbytery itself, wherein the body of the Lord is kept, and where the shrine of the holy martyr Edmund in all its beauty has often stirred the heart of the devout believer to praise, was invaded by the fearful violence of the fire. The sacrament of our redemption had, however, been already removed by the Sacrist, and placed reverently in the vestry, with a lighted candle before it; for he feared to tempt the Lord his God [by forcing him to a display of miraculous power]. The whole house of God now tottered to its fall; the flames, raging high and low, caught upon the lantern that tops the spire, and is the ornament of the whole fane. This grieved and terrified the spectators more than all: all hope died when that graceful spire was seen to be in flames. By this time a 'great wind was sounding through the air,' and carrying large burning sparks to a great distance: nay, what is more surprising, I saw numbers of small pieces of lead cast to a considerable distance by the combined force of wind and fire. Our groans now redoubled, and many a deep sigh was drawn. The poor monks knew not which way to turn, nor what to do, and their pitiable complaints might not inaptly have recalled Virgil's lines on Troy. 'To us too had the last day, the inevitable moment, come: we *were* monks, the glory and honour of Eastern England *was*, but the

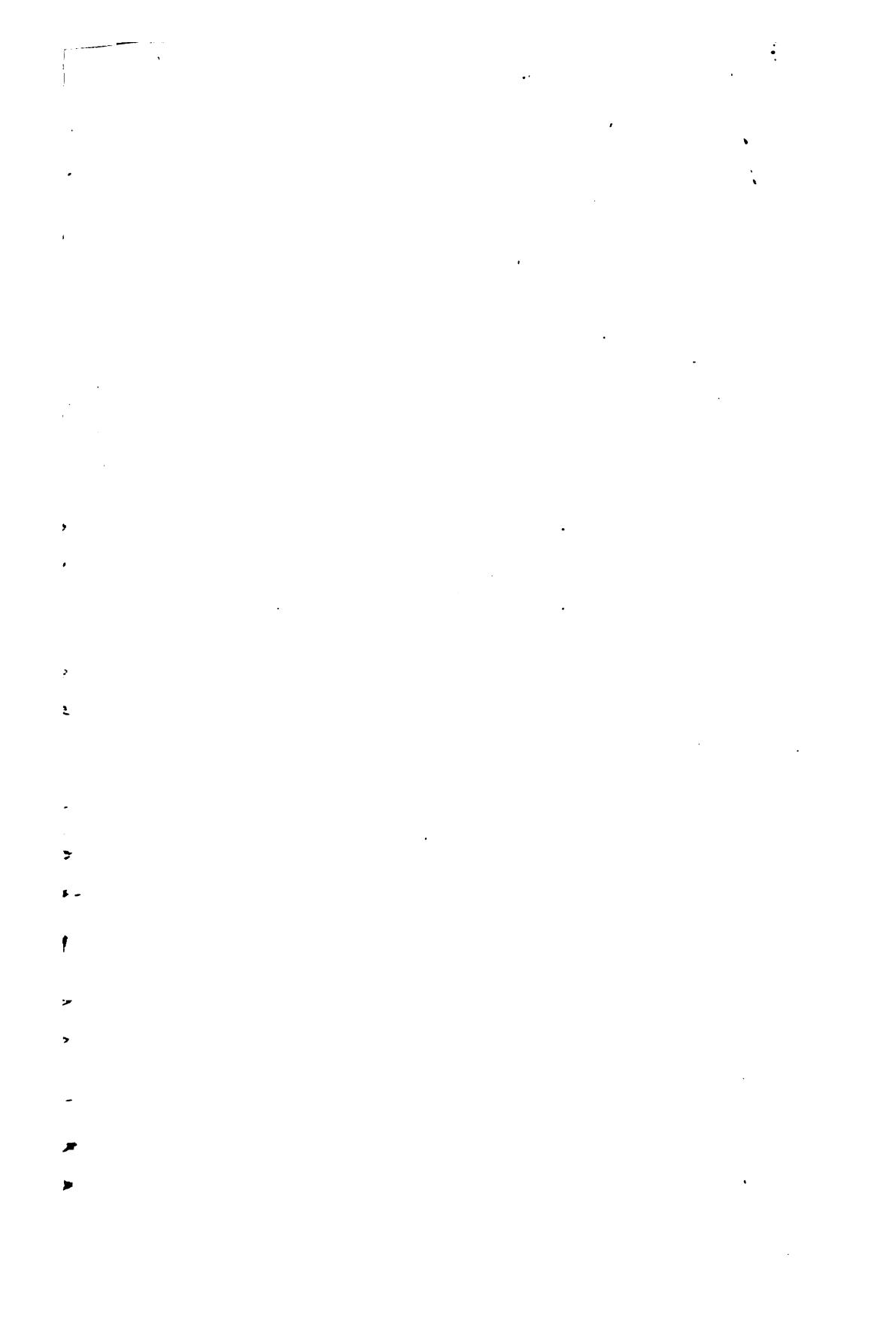
fierce fire is seizing it all, and mastering the holy temple.' Moreover, the feeling was not only now chiefly of concern for the burning of the spire, but of fear for its fall; for it threatened totally to destroy the Church, and, besides, to make an end of the whole monastery. The onlookers therefore retired to a distance, some 'beholding it afar off,' others unable to bear the sorrow of seeing its fall. However, the special mercy of God, which never fails to succour His servants, did not suffer the great and noble sanctuary of His soldier to be wholly destroyed. The fire consumed the timbers which supported the steeple; and it sank, wonderful to say, perpendicularly into the tower below, without bending to right or left. What a fiery furnace was there! what clouds of smoke, think you, what blazing heat! That exquisite choir, that left not its match in all the kingdom,—the graceful spire of the Church,—the nine bells, the great candlestick, wrought with such art and skill, were all blazing up together in one heap! [The existence of a spire of great height on the central tower is a new fact, and so is the statement that there were nine bells. It further appears that Samson's choir, and the great candlestick, and, I suppose, the whole of the painted vault, perished in this dreadful conflagration. Needless to say, the *dorsaria* and the glass must have suffered woefully: probably the former were all destroyed.] What more? This enormous pyre now directed all its flames and all its force against the shrine of the martyr. Hither and thither it darted, licking up the presses and seats, the projecting images of the angels, and the huge hanging crucifix that almost touched the holy martyr, and reduced them all to glowing embers. [The images of angels (or perhaps saints) may have stood out from the roof, or else upon the rood-beam over the high altar.] The wooden cover of the shrine [like that of St Thomas at Canterbury, described by Erasmus], when the rope that held it up was burnt through, fell down upon the shrine, in flames: so that the martyr, though walled about on every side with fire, as in an oven, remained scatheless. O precious boon of God! O wonderful chance, worthy to be preferred to any miracle, that all these millions of flames

should have been foiled by one martyr! At this point some daring souls made a rush for the Church, broke through the windows, cast water upon the flames, and seeing that the shrine was intact, raised a cry of joy to those without; whereupon all gave thanks to God and to the holy martyr.

Another incident was very surprising, and deserves to be recorded, concerning Egelwyn, the former servant and charioteer of the martyr [this was the monk who had conveyed the body about the country during the Danish terror], and others [e.g. Oswen, the female devotee] whose bones were kept in a wooden chest, high up, near the king's tomb. Some men had employed great force in trying to move them, inasmuch as the heat had already got to them; but, though the chest could ordinarily be lifted with one hand, they were now unable to stir it. Was not this truly a faithful servant, who refused to forsake his king? And, though thus overcome by the martyr, the miserable disaster did not come to an end forthwith; but redoubling its strength, breathed all its heat against the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin [that on the north side of the Choir, as I suppose]. The Refectory had been already consumed [perhaps only the roof: it was on the side of the cloister furthest from the Church], and the fire had caught upon the roof of the Palace [i.e. the Abbot's Palace]. But by great exertions it was subdued here, and now raged only in the Chapel: nor did it cease, though copiously drenched with wine and water, until it had laid it even with the ground. In the Infirmary, which was completely exposed to the danger [I think this is the meaning: another possible rendering would be 'though the whole of the staff was engaged in putting out the fire elsewhere'], no damage was done, for God preserved it. The care and anxiety of all was now centred on the Vestry, where, as I have said, the body of the Lord had been placed, and where the whole treasure of the Church now lay shut up. It had been in no slight degree affected by the flames, as is witnessed to this day by the scorched walls, and the stones and timbers from which the heat has sucked out the hardness. The door opening out of the Choir into the Vestry [where was this?] did not escape

damage, but by God's help everything that was inside remained safe. For the Lord of all, like a good Vestiary, fulfilled His office faithfully, preserving all His possessions unharmed. We owe therefore, and we would pay, hearty thanks to God who vouchsafed to deliver Himself and His soldier Edmund out of this great fire, and who now assures us, though we were well-nigh comfortless, of the solace of so great a protector: to the praise and glory of His name; to whom is honour everlasting. Amen."

The verses that follow enjoin the writer or narrator to apply for help to the faithful to replace the lost ornaments of the Church.





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